

MID-AMERICA

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Gunboat Personnel on the Western Waters

The problem of furnishing naval personnel for the Western Waters during the first year of the Civil War was a knotty one—though no more difficult than the task of supplying seamen for the navy as a whole. President Lincoln in his proclamation of April 15, 1861, called for a militia of 75,000 men, but made no mention of personnel for the navy. Eighteen days later the President called into service 42,034 volunteers for a period of three years. In addition, the Regular Army of the United States was to be increased by 22,714 officers and enlisted men, thus emphasizing a difference between volunteers and those in the Regular Army. Lincoln then added: "And I further direct the enlistment, for not less than one nor more than three years, of 18,000 seamen, in addition to the present force, for the naval service of the United States."¹ The strength of the navy at the beginning of the war totaled 7,600 men, leaving no doubt in anyone's mind that an increase was both urgent and necessary.²

When Captain Andrew H. Foote was ordered on August 30, 1861, to assume command of the naval operations on the Western Waters, he found a force of three wooden vessels which had been armed as gunboats, and in addition nine ironclad gunboats and thir-

¹ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 serial vols., Washington, D. C., 1882-1901), Series 3, I, 67, 146. Referred to hereafter as *O. R.* A brief, but interesting discussion as to why Lincoln called the militia first, is found in Kenneth P. Williams, *Lincoln Finds a General*, 2 vols., New York, 1949, I, 114-121.

² *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, 27 vols., Washington, D. C., 1894-1917, XXII, 307. Referred to hereafter as *O. R. N.*

ty-eight mortar boats which were in the process of construction. The building program was at the beginning financed by the War Department, which was also to supply the necessary guns, projectiles, and ammunition.³ The Western Flotilla, as it was called, was under the authority of the army, a factor which was to complicate such problems as rank, the payment of enlisted and commissioned personnel, and the recruiting of seamen.

It was not long before Foote learned, as he established his headquarters at St. Louis, that the naval officer preceding him had already experienced difficulty in obtaining men. Due to few enlistments, a rendezvous, or recruiting center at St. Louis had just been closed. A previous request to the Navy Department answered on August 23 stated that it was an impossibility for the Department to secure men for the Western Waters. The Navy also specified that the rendezvous on the lakes were for the purpose of filling the needs in the Atlantic cities, which meant that the Western Flotilla, therefore, would have to obtain its men from the West.⁴

Foote, now realizing what was facing him, took bold steps. Either in the ignorance or in disregard of the instruction dealing with the rendezvous on the Lakes, on September 11, he directed one of his officers to "proceed to Chicago and open a rendezvous and ship crews for the gunboats" being built on the Mississippi River. The lieutenant was also given authority to obtain men on Lake Erie. Cognizant of the effect of using colored personnel, Foote further informed his recruiting officer that "as there are objections or difficulties in the Southern country about colored people, we do not want any of that class shipped."⁵ The captain was expecting to receive one thousand men from his recruiting agent at Cleveland alone, but his expectations were never fulfilled. A bonus of two dollars paid to the agent for each man who appeared to be in sound physical condition, plus government paid transportation for the recruits were not inducements enough to bring the desired results. The maximum amount of ten dollars to be advanced to each new enlisted man was not much in the way of a monetary consideration.⁶

Potential officer personnel did not respond any faster to the call of duty. Foote dispatched a naval officer to Cincinnati to secure pilots and other suitable personnel for service in the Flotilla.⁷ Such

³ *Ibid.*, XXII, 299, 308, 314.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 296, 301, 304.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 331, 337.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 337.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 343.

was the difficulty in securing pilots, that on September 23, Commander W. D. Porter, the senior naval officer at St. Louis, suggested to Major-General John C. Frémont that "all licensed pilots be compelled, within a reasonable time, to report themselves at the office of the provost marshal."⁸ Porter concluded that the pilots were "in fact, the officers of the government, and their refusal to serve is an act of treason."⁹ Frémont's answer is not known, but his order issued to Foote to assume command of the gunboats, mortar boats, and steamboats, insofar as the supplying of officers, men, and equipment was concerned, was perhaps one way of avoiding the issue and shifting responsibility to the naval commander.¹⁰

One of the difficulties in the naval recruiting program was that it did not provide for naval volunteer units similar to those in the army. The latter facilitated the organizing of units within cities and states, thus making it possible for a local *esprit de corps* to exist—an important factor in recruiting at this time. Further, naval recruits were not credited to state quotas until the autumn of 1864, at which time enlistments in the naval or marine corps were to be acknowledged in the same manner as enlistments in the army.¹¹ This, of course, affected those who had quotas to fill. It was not a question of which service was in dire need of men, but rather which service could provide credit for local enlistments. Congressional action during these early years of the war was almost nil in relieving this situation. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, later complained that even naval personnel already on active duty, some abroad, and others on blockade service, were still subject to the draft. Three years after the war started, Welles was still running short of sailors and bemoaned the fact that he had "no immediate remedy."¹² Yet, his annual reports for 1861 and 1862

⁸ Foote, at this time, was at Paducah, making preparations to proceed up the Ohio River. Frémont was in command of the Western Department.

⁹ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 350.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 366.

¹¹ *O. R.* Series 3, V, 663, 664. Thus, in 1864, New York was credited with 28,427 naval enlistments; Massachusetts ranked second with 16,834, and Pennsylvania was third with almost half the number credited to the Bay State. This point is brought out in Fred A. Shannon's, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army 1861-1865*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1928, II, 297-298.

¹² *The Diary of Gideon Welles*, 3 vols., New York, 1911, I, 407, 545-546, and Richard S. West, Jr., *Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Navy Department*, New York, 1943, 268-269, hereafter referred to as *Welles, Diary*, and West, *Gideon Welles*. On August 9, 1862, the "Regulations for the Enrolment and Draft of Three Hundred Thousand Militia" listed among its exemptions "all pilots, all marines actually employed in the sea service of any citizen or merchant within the United States, all engineers and pilots of

show little evidence that the navy was having a difficult time recruiting men for its vessels. Instead of pointing out these weaknesses to Congress, Welles boasted of how the navy had expanded and of the superior class of seamen who were manning the Western Flotilla. The Secretary did append some of Foote's letters to his report, but he made no mention of the constant appeal for more men found in much of this correspondence.¹³ It appears that perhaps a naval officer of "Crommelin" calibre was necessary to bring the pressing problem to the fore-front, but circumstances were such that the war was more than half over before Congress, in spite of the apparent lack of proper recommendations by Welles, took action to improve the predicament in which the navy found itself.

By the end of October, 1861, Foote had obtained no more than one hundred recruits from the centers in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Chicago. As a consequence of their inability to supply the necessary number of men, all the rendezvous except those at Chicago and Pittsburgh were ordered closed the following month.¹⁴ Foote, left with only two recruiting centers, appears not to have been bothered by the present idea of "chain of command", for he communicated directly with Welles, Gustavus V. Fox, the assistant secretary of the navy, and other officials in the higher levels of the armed services concerning his needs. For the gunboats, the first of which were to be ready as early as possible in November, he requested five hundred men. In regard to the mortar boats, he estimated that one thousand men would be necessary to man them. Fox had already been informed in September that the process of securing seamen was moving along very slowly, and that in the end, Foote would have to depend on the navy for supplying the Flotilla's needs.¹⁵ A month later, the navy captain received word from Fox

registered or licensed steamboats and steamships. . . ." It also provided for the elimination "of all persons now in the military service of the United States," but no mention was made of the naval service, nor of those on active duty in the navy. *United States War Department General Orders 1862*, No. 99, Washington, 1863.

¹³ *Senate Documents*, 37 Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 3 (1861-62); and *Executive Documents*, 37 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 3 (1862-63).

¹⁴ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 384, 393. Foote had received offers of small groups of men for gunboat service from Vermont and Indiana. These he accepted, but there appears to be no evidence as to whether or not he actually received them. See *Ibid.*, 353, 363, 367.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 384, 373; Robert Means Thompson and Richard Wainwright, eds., *Confidential Correspondence of Gustavus Vasa Fox*, 2 vols., New York, 1918-19, II, 5. Hereafter referred to as *Fox, Correspondence*. Foote, along with his requests for personnel, did not forget his own desires and in letters to Frémont, Fox, and Welles, pointed out how his rank as captain compared with that only of a colonel in the army, which at times made

that three hundred men were being drilled for use on the Western Waters. In addition, orders had been given to ship landmen in New England. These were mostly fishermen without naval training. Foote was pleased to hear this and asked that they be sent "forthwith".¹⁶ On November 15, Foote, newly appointed to the rank of flag-officer, was notified by wire that five hundred seamen would leave for Cairo, Illinois, the following day. Fox elaborated in a letter following the telegram, that the five hundred men were all that could be expected. Not only were no more to come but the assistant secretary of the navy added: "If you wish or can spare any officer, drop me a private note, for we are ashore of commanders."¹⁷

The flag-officer was not frightened that easily. He acknowledged the arrival of the five hundred men and said that he now had "only about 650 men for 8 boats, requiring 1700 men." He wanted about one thousand additional men and if about half of these could be obtained from the East, he would try to acquire the others from different sources. To Fox's inquiry about surplus officers, Foote wrote, "We have barely officers enough."¹⁸ Foote's report of December 10 informed Welles that the flag-officer was "still deficient 1000 men for the flotilla." About a week later, Foote learned that the part of his report dealing with his being "still deficient 1000 men" had been turned over to the War Department, for Welles had written that he considered it "the duty of the Army to furnish the men," which to Foote was merely the old story of

him subordinate to those displaying an eagle on their epaulets. He feared that the gunboats would be diverted from his command by even volunteer colonels of single regiments. "The only remedy for this," he told Frémont, "would be in the Navy Department appointing me flag-officer of the squadron or flotilla." *O. R. N.*, XXII, 388. To Fox, his approach was more pointed. "We suffer a good deal for my want of rank. . . . I want, for the efficiency of the fleet, the appointment of flag-officer." Foote added further, "am I not under the law entitled to the rank and to the appointment of a flag-officer? Now, when afloat, there is nothing to distinguish my vessel from the others. Hence I am embarrassed on all sides for want of rank"; *ibid.*, 391. His pleas to Welles followed the same line of approach; *ibid.*, 393-394; 399-400, and they did not go unheeded for on November 13, 1861, he received a morale-building order which stated that Captain Foote was "hereby appointed flag-officer in command of the U. S. naval forces employed on the Mississippi River and its tributaries." *Ibid.*, 429. A tardy acknowledgement of his new rank was sent to Welles on November 28, 1861; *ibid.*, 444.

¹⁶ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 385, and Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 8.

¹⁷ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 342, 435.

¹⁸ Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 13. Foote also negotiated with Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs, and a Colonel W. A. Howard, for one thousand men but nothing came of the matter. *O. R. N.*, XXII, 446, 447, 462. See also *O. R.*, Series 1, VIII, 397.

by-passing the issue.¹⁹ The armchair strategists in the higher echelons of the army and navy finally reached a decision that month, which, they thought would solve the problem of supplying men for the Western Waters, but their plan of placing the Western Flotilla or the Western Gunboat Fleet as it was often called, under the jurisdiction of the army did not solve the problem.²⁰ Foote, unable to obtain sufficient naval personnel, now hoped to obtain soldiers to complete the necessary complement for his gunboats. He received word from navy headquarters on December 17, that Major-General George B. McClellan (who on November 1, 1861, had succeeded Major-General Winfield Scott as General in Chief of the Army) was planning to detail eleven hundred men for the western gunboats. Foote was also told that although many of the ships were going to sea without officers, he would receive two lieutenants and "possibly some commanders."²¹ It appeared that the tenor of Foote's correspondence with Fox, placing emphasis on the need for men in Western Waters, was about to bring results.

On the very same day that Foote received word about the eleven hundred men, Major-General Henry W. Halleck, who had succeeded Frémont, as commander of the Department of Missouri on November 18 wrote from St. Louis that there were eleven hundred to twelve hundred unarmed volunteers available if Foote wanted them. His reply requested that five hundred of these men be sent immediately to the Flotilla.²² Foote, apparently had not given any thought to any possible restrictions in this offer, but he learned that there was a string attached. Officers of the regiment of volunteers, Halleck wrote, would have to join the Flotilla with their soldiers and all were to be regarded as marines. They were not to be under the immediate command of any navy officer, but rather under that of the gunboat commanders.²³ The navy officer, who occasionally preached from the pulpit, restrained his natural bent toward

¹⁹ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 459, 464.

²⁰ The Western Gunboat Fleet was later transferred to the Navy Department on October 1, 1862. *United States War Department General Orders 1862*, No. 150 (Washington, 1863).

²¹ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 463-464. Foote had wired McClellan on December 6, 1861, that twelve gunboats would be ready for service, if eleven hundred additional men were received. On the following day he also expressed a desire to receive soldiers from Halleck. *Ibid.*, 453, 455.

²² *O. R. N.*, XXII, 465, 468. See also *O. R.*, Series 1, vol., VIII, 441. Halleck, who had been ordered to do so by McClellan, had already commanded the general at Benton Barracks, Missouri, to have these men in readiness for service down the river. This order was issued on December 17, 1861.

²³ Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 18-19.

homiletics and instead plainly told the general that soldiers and not officers were wanted in place of seamen. There was no use for officers, he said; yet on the same day his request to the Navy Department for two more lieutenants was granted. Foote's message to Halleck went on to say that there were neither staterooms nor any other facilities provided for additional commissioned personnel. Men were needed to handle the guns and operate the boats. He had supposed that "volunteer soldiers would be discharged from the army . . . and be placed on the same footing with the crew."²⁴

The bewhiskered naval officer did not drop the matter there; he expounded his feelings further to Fox. Foote, and perhaps rightly so, informed the assistant secretary that the general's idea of sending officers along with the enlisted men was impracticable. Foote did acknowledge Halleck's difficulties and mentioned that he found "no fault with him or his course," but what seemed to irk Foote was Halleck's questioning his judgment about navy matters. Fox was requested to send one thousand men from the East immediately, unless, Foote stated, "I am authorized to ship men who are discharged from the different regiments in the army for the purpose of entering the navy gunboats,"—a power which he had once received from Frémont.²⁵ On the last day of the year, one of Foote's subordinates wired him that even though Halleck's order on shipping officers with enlisted men was still in effect, Halleck would discharge any soldier who would ship for gunboat service. His concluding sentence: "Will explain further difficulties in the way when I see you."²⁶ indicated that all problems had not yet been settled.

The "further difficulties" soon became apparent. While the order permitted the soldiers to transfer, there still remained the necessity of obtaining the permission of commanding officers, and colonels and captains did not readily give their consent, for they did not relish the thought of losing members of their immediate commands. Brigadier-General Ulysses S. Grant, in command of the District of Cairo, later issued a proclamation emphasizing Halleck's

²⁴ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 474-476. Foote had also said that he made "no requisition for soldiers until ordered to do so by the Navy Department." This statement is to be questioned, for three weeks previously he had asked for army personnel. See above, note 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 473. Welles, in his *Diary*, I, 120, some months later wrote that "Halleck, Foote insisted, was a military imbecile, though he might make a good clerk," which statement if possible to verify, would indicate that Foote's opinion of Halleck had dropped considerably in the following months.

²⁶ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 478.

order, but the obstacle of obtaining permission from commanding officers remained. Enlisted men were still refused consent, making the proclamation and order merely a paper acknowledgement of the navy's need for men.²⁷

By mid-January, 1862, the efforts to recruit in the West resulted in the securing of less than two hundred men. Beside the personnel for the gunboats, there was an additional need for about eight hundred men for the mortar boats alone, but if Foote was having a hard time raising sailors for his gunboats, he was having more difficulty in outfitting his mortar boats with crews. Foote estimated that with all the soldiers flocking to him for gunboat service, he could have had six thousand to fill his empty ranks—except for the officers' failure to grant permission. Even if Foote had obtained these men, he would have had troubles: they insisted on gunboat duty only, and shunned the mortar boats, despite Foote's announcement that duty on the latter would be safer. The Flotilla commander's letters to Fox continued to plead for more men. Fox, on the other hand, made it known that the other components of the navy were no better off than those on the inland waters. He pointedly told Foote, that he could not expect to receive men from the navy as there were "several ships waiting for crews." Fox also strongly suggested that Halleck was showing little interest in the flag-officer's activities but emphasized that the general had been advised to obey orders about supplying Foote with men.²⁸ Had the assistant secretary been more aware of the difficulties facing Halleck in Missouri—conditions which alone should have had the undivided attention of the Department commander—the insinuations might have been avoided.

Grant, on good terms with Foote, in the meantime had realized the value of the gunboats in his campaign and attempted to help his naval associate. He wrote to St. Louis suggesting that the difficulties of securing men for gunboat service could be overcome by transferring a number of soldiers from the guard house to that duty. The future commander-in-chief of the Union forces also mentioned that he had conferred with Foote on the subject and believed that the proposal met with his approval. There is no doubt that Foote approved this idea, for in a telegram to Fox he spoke of Grant's writing to Halleck for authority to send some soldiers of "intem-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XXII, 527; Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 32.

²⁸ Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 30, 33, 37, and *O. R. N.*, XXII, 522, 464, 516. See also *O. R. N.*, XXII, 464, 516, 524, 530.

perate habits" to the Flotilla. What bothered Foote was the fact that no answer had been received. The desperate need for naval personnel was best expressed by Foote when he said: "The men I will take even if they are without brains, I only ask for muscle."²⁹

Foote, in his endeavor to fill the needs of his command worked through two channels. His petitions were carried over to the War Department through Fox and Welles, where by chain of command Halleck was soon to hear about them. Through Grant, the pleas were again brought before Halleck, this time from the lower echelons. Foote's "pincer-movement" started to close in on Halleck, and on January 1, 1862, the commanding officer of the Department of the Missouri received a letter from the Headquarters of the Army. Colonel Lorenzo Thomas, the Adjutant-General, pointed out that the efficiency of the Western Flotilla had been much impaired by the want of crews. Efforts to supply this need failed, and it was now necessary to utilize other means to eliminate this deficiency. Thomas reminded Halleck that the Flotilla with its naval personnel was completely under the Department commander's orders, and that it was expected that Halleck would "devise the means of overcoming the obstacles that have presented themselves." Thomas then added that it would be more economical, and at the same time quite proper to use volunteer troops to supplement the naval personnel on the gunboats. As far as the difficulty which might arise from a surplus of officers, one remedy he suggested, would be to detail a portion of the excess officers to other duties. The Adjutant-General indicated that the matter was being placed in Halleck's hands, and after a "full interchange of views" with Foote, a solution to the difficulty would be found.³⁰

About a week later, Grant, anticipating that some action would have to be taken by the army, issued a circular in which he called upon the commanding officers of companies and regiments to submit a list of "river and sea-faring men" in their commands, who would be willing to enter the gunboat service. He emphasized the need of personnel for such duty and contemplated transferring such men as desired it, "subject to the approval of the department commander." Grant's anticipation was confirmed on February 3, when Foote received a telegram from Halleck stating that Grant was authorized to detail men for temporary gunboat duty and that men

²⁹ O. R., Series 1, VII, 534, and Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 31. Also O. R. N., XXII, 353. Grant also requested that authority be given to transfer unruly men to the gunboat service hereafter.

³⁰ O. R. N., XXII, 504.

would be sent as soon as collected. Foote was also to arrange with Grant for temporary crews so as to avoid any delay.³¹

But temporary gunboat details did not satisfy Foote. On this same day he sent another letter of complaint to his superiors at Washington in which he pointed out that no more than fifty soldiers had been transferred to the Flotilla. There were many more volunteers, he said, but the resulting derangement of the military installations was the reason for such a limited number being transferred to the naval service. Not only were volunteers needed, but in view of the proposed campaigns to take place within the next ten days, it was imperative that the recruits be sent immediately in order that they could be trained and drilled for gunboat duty. On the following day the frustrated Flotilla commander received a telegram from Fox, which promised some six hundred soldiers—one-time seamen—from Massachusetts regiments. These were to be sent in groups of one hundred, without arms or officers, and were to start appearing for duty within a week.³² Once again, the flag-officer realized that Fox was prone to exaggeration for it was not until after two weeks had passed that the first contingent of troops from the East was to make its appearance.

In the meantime, Foote had immediate problems which had to be solved. He requested information in regard to some of the disabled officers. Were they to be discharged? Were they entitled to a pension? In regard to the men's clothing destroyed under action he asked whether they would be entitled to any compensation for the same. While awaiting official instructions on these matters, the attack on Fort Henry had already become history, and Foote was now making preparations to cooperate with the army in an attack on Fort Donelson.³³

The victory at Fort Donelson did not add to Foote's laurels, and it was with reluctance that he had taken part in the campaign. Lack of personnel to man his boats, and the necessity of transferring men from one vessel to another was a constant source of irritation within his command. So opposed were the men to the idea of serving on more than one vessel that, in one day, thirty ran away from a steamer in order to avoid transfer. The attention of Secre-

³¹ *O. R.*, Series 1, VIII, 505-506; VII, 565, 580; and *O. R. N.*, XXII, 504, 530. The shortage of personnel on the Western Waters was not a top secret, for the *New York Tribune*, on February 1, 1862, advertised the fact that Foote's Flotilla was still in need of a thousand sailors.

³² *O. R. N.*, XXII, 531-532, 535.

³³ *Ibid.*, XXII, 578, 582.

tary of War Stanton was directed to this situation and on February 16, 1862, Foote received a telegram from the War Department informing him that six hundred men were to leave the next day for Cairo, Illinois, where they were to report to the senior naval officer.³⁴ When the first group of men arrived five days later, Foote must have pondered over his earlier statement about taking men even if they were "without brains", for he soon judged that with few exceptions, the men sent to him were the offscourings of the army. One of the basic causes of the dissatisfaction among these newly-arrived men was the fact that they had not been paid by the army to the date of their transfer. This condition was alleviated in the following month when the President issued instructions to the War Department to see to it that these men received their back pay. Foote found it necessary for the maintenance of discipline to disarm the men and to guard them with two companies of soldiers. In spite of these harrassing conditions, the Flotilla commander did manage to keep his equilibrium and wired Welles, "We want no more from the Army. I prefer to go into the action only half manned than to go with such men."³⁵

Then, on the next day, February 25, Foote received a telegram from the Secretary of the Navy's office, which seemed to disregard the idea that the Western Flotilla had ever been short of personnel—and at the same time seems to cast some doubt as to the efficiency of Welles' office. The wire read: "Mr. Fox desires to know if you have sailors enough for the gunboats; if not, you shall have some thoroughly trained men." By this time, Flag-Officer Foote was prepared for almost anything and merely wired back: "We do want 250 well-drilled sailors very much, as we have no time to teach so many green hands. Please send the sailors." He also added a request for two good and sober gunners for his ammunition boats and although five ships on the coast were waiting for crews, sailors were leaving New York and the Great Lakes region for gunboat service.³⁶

The problem of personnel for the gunboats on the Western Waters had finally disappeared and for the first time since he had assumed command of the Flotilla, Flag-Officer Andrew H. Foote was able to wire back in March, "We have now men in abundance

³⁴ Charles B. Boynton, *History of the Navy During the Rebellion*, 2 vols., New York, 1869-1870, I, 525, 531. Also *O. R. N.*, XXII, 550, 579, 613.

³⁵ *O. R. N.*, XXII, 632, 642, 656, 657.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XXII, 636, 638.

and want no more . . . ,”—this, in spite of the fact that his original requests were far from filled. Although the first year of the war evidenced inefficiency and uncooperativeness in the task of supplying the Western gunboats with naval personnel, Quartermaster-General M. C. Meigs, in his annual report for 1862, was able to write that as far as the gunboat activities of the army and navy for that year were concerned, “the organization worked harmoniously and effectively.”³⁷

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³⁷ Fox, *Correspondence*, II, 41; *O. R. N.*, XXII, 641, 648, 657, and *O. R.*, Series 3, II, 793.

A Jesuit at the Hell Gate Treaty of 1855

Early in July, 1855, hundreds upon hundreds of gaily bedecked Indian warriors from all the tribes of the great Flathead Confederacy rode over the plains and mountains of western Montana to a pow-wow with Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens of Washington Territory.¹ The rendezvous, according to a sketch by Gustavus Sohon who was there, lay along the flats of a wide, swift river swollen from recent summer rains. It was a bi-annual battleground of Blackfeet and mountain Indians, the passageway through the Rockies called the Gate of Hell. There under a clear sky and ringed by mountains, with the prim military tents of the Whites facing the humbler Indian tepees, the Flatheads, Kutenais, and Pend d'Oreilles fought a stubborn diplomatic battle for their ancestral lands. The stormy eight days at the riverbank are known to history as the Flathead Council.² The agreement there concluded, pregnant with fifty years of trouble to come, is called the Hell Gate Treaty of 1855.³

The aim of the meeting was clear. The way for the railroad to the Pacific had been surveyed two years previously. It lay through lands where the Indians claimed sovereignty. Governor Stevens had the harsh order from Washington to extinguish that sovereignty, to make the Confederacy surrender some 23,000 square miles of territory in Montana and Idaho for a reservation of 2,000 square miles. He had already made such an agreement with the tribes to the west

¹ Hazard Stevens, *The Life of Isaac Ingalls Stevens By His Son*, 2 vols., New York, 1901, II, 89. Though published long after the event, this work is based upon eye-witness reports; the author himself, as a boy of thirteen, assisted his father at the Flathead Council which he recalls as "unexpectedly difficult and protracted." He includes in this volume a map from Governor Stevens' original and a sketch of the site by Sohon.

² The official proceedings of the council, recorded by James Doty, have been edited by Albert J. Partoll, "The Flathead Indian Treaty Council of 1855," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXIX (1938), 283-314. The council formally opened July ninth and adjourned July sixteenth; Stevens was at the council grounds from July seventh to July eighteenth.

³ Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties*, vol. II (treaties), Washington, D. C., 1904, 722-725; "Treaty with the Flatheads, etc., 1855," is the title given by Kappler to Senate Document, 58 Congress, 2 session, no. 319, ser. 4624. The treaty was ratified March 8, 1859, and proclaimed on April 18, 1859. An original manuscript copy is in the Jesuit Historical Archives for the Pacific Northwest and Alaska (this deposit is hereafter cited as OJH Arch.).

in the Columbia River basin and was on his way to make one with the Blackfeet.

Page after page of this protracted council was recorded to be embalmed in the 'White man's files at Washington. "Successfully and happily" the council had been terminated, "every man pleased and every man satisfied"; the grateful savage had welcomed a treaty "remarkably liberal in its terms to the Indians."⁴ So wrote Governor Stevens. From the Indian side came no documents, only a heartache increasing to bitterness which, but for the Black Robe missionaries over that area, would have spelled disaster for America's troops in the spectacular Nez Perce War of 1877.⁵

Prior to this war, reports of the uneasiness had been transmitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and among them the Shanahan Report of 1873 remarked with some astonishment the Indians' lack of understanding and bitterness with respect to the Hell Gate Treaty.

They made many complaints . . . and said they have been promised much but got little. They dwelt much on the eleventh article of the treaty which they seemed to think guaranteed them a right to the Bitter Root Valley. This I fully explained to them and besides explaining it through my own interpreter Rev. Father D'Aste did so in such an effectual manner that they were all convinced of its true meaning.⁶

The secret of all the Indian frustration is revealed in the unpublished letters of Father Hoecken, S.J., here adjoined. "Not a tenth" of the council "was actually understood by either party," due largely to incompetent interpreters. Not only were the words incompetently translated from Salish to English and from English to Salish, but the Salish mentality was completely missed. A particular element not grasped by the Whites was the limited extent of power accorded the political hierarchy of Flathead chiefs. To change the clan system with its individualistic chieftans and to defy ancient usages by placing arbitrarily all under one chief was to court trouble.

In these and many other points of Indian diplomatic history the historian of the Rock Mountain tribes has few records beyond

⁴ H. Stevens, II, 89, 90. Stevens repeats these sentiments in his 1855 *Narrative and Final Report of Explorations For a Route For a Pacific Railroad*, reprinted in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad*. . . , Washington, D. C., 1860, XII, book I, 209. This collection of 1860 is hereafter cited as *Railroad Reports*.

⁵ R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "The Jesuits, the Northern Indians, and the Nez Perce War of 1877," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XLII (1951), 40-76.

⁶ MS: Shanahan Report, OHJ Arch.

the Indian camp-talk and garbled tradition, and he is forced to seek his facts on the Indian viewpoint largely from alien fonts. One source however may be exploited as directly Indian: the diaries, letters, writings, and to some extent even the reminiscences of the trained Jesuit missionaries who lived and ate, talked and prayed for many decades, so close to their dark-skinned flock as to be almost Indians themselves. Men they were of foreign lands and continental study halls, with an ear long practiced in the nuances of each tribal tongue. It was the privilege of this writer as Assistant Archivist for three years in the Jesuit Historical Archives for the Pacific Northwest and Alaska to handle the great quantities of unexploited manuscript material composed by these early missionaries. Research on one problem gave occasion for investigation of the cognate problem of the Hell Gate Treaty. What, from the Indian standpoint, actually transpired at the pow-wow? What fundamental issues were at stake and why were they so misconceived?

The basic answer lies deep within the faded, cloth-bound covers of a tiny diary and catch-all. Elegantly inscribed on its title page with the name of the Jesuit priest Hoecken,⁷ it is filled with jottings made in a wilderness mission station almost a century ago. Three and a half inches wide and almost six inches long the notebook contains some two hundred and fifty-six unnumbered pages, protected by a heavy-duty cover of flowered, blue-purple design. Its white, ruled pages harbor every sort of notanda helter-skelter, beginning from both ends or entered at random. These entries are in pencil and in ink, of varying degrees of illegibility. English, French, Dutch, Indian dialects, and Latin are employed to express a many-sided personality in which charming candor and shrewd business-sense are evident. The entries include diary notes, historical memoranda, copies of important letters, financial transactions, memory jogs, lingual advances, rough plans of the mission site, and general records both spiritual and temporal. Taken as a whole they bring into sharp focus a picture of life on the Montana frontier long, long before the avalanche of white pioneers had settled there. Thus we read that "200 balls and powder" have been "exchanged for wheat"; that certain Whites have borrowed four oxen or a trowel; that the Nez Perces, Kalispels, and Piegans are sending raiding parties after Gros Ventres horses—and that there has been homi-

⁷ Adrian Hoecken (sometimes Hoeken) is not to be confused with his noted brother and fellow Jesuit missionary, Christian, who had died of cholera in the summer of 1851. On Christian see *Dictionary of American Biography*, New York, 1943, IX, 106-107.

cidal retaliation.⁸ Meticulously the diarist records the calving of cows, with the pertinent bovine names. Under date of "1855, Dec. 14," he preserves "Votes for a Couton[ay] chief": three pages of Indian Names each with its votee inscribed at its side (Baptiste won by a clear majority). There is a swap: "1 yoke of oxen and 1 wagon for three horses." Other representative excerpts include:

3 frying pans[:] 2 doll[ars] la [sic] piece

Calico 90 cents a yard

1 Dollars [sic] for scythe

17 and 18 noctem intra Crows furant[?] equos ad fort Benton; insequitur eos Little Dog, occidunt unum, triumphant—nocte inter 19 et 20—
[illegible word] vedet manum Gros Ventres.⁹

Our immediate concern, however, is with a hastily scribbled copy of important correspondence: two letters written in a small, cramped hand, neat but distressingly semi-legible. The first begins on the twenty-fourth page of the booklet, the second on the forty-ninth page from the rear; both are written in French with a sprinkling of Latin tags.

Of more than passing moment to the researcher, of course, is the personality behind these documents. Upon it will hinge the extent of credibility and objectivity in the facts recorded. Adrian Hoecken was born at Tilburg, North Brabant, in mid-March of 1815: two days before Napoleon entered Paris to begin his triumphant Hundred Days march to Waterloo. Twenty-four years later at the diocesan seminary of Bois-le-Duc young Hoecken was ordained deacon and by December of that same year was tossing over the broad Atlantic toward America, there to enter the Jesuit novitiate near Florissant, Missouri. At the frontier boom-town of St. Louis he was ordained priest in 1842 and, as part of the famous Emigration of '43,¹⁰ was bidden Godspeed to the fabulous-

⁸ "1 Nov[embri] 1862 [:] Nez Perces, Kel[ispel,] et Pikani furant equos Gros Ventres." And "Hi [Gros Ventres] iterum ad 80 Pik [anorum;] occidunt duos Pikani furantes iterum [,] et occidunt quinque Gros Ventres. . . . 3 february [,] mediante manu Gros Ventr[es,] occidit mulierem Nez Perces uxorem albi. . ."

⁹ Little Dog payed a friendly visit in 1856: "Ap[rilis] 1. Arrived here Little dog cum filio et 3—[illegible word] et feminis Pieds noirs[.]"

¹⁰ Whitman mentioned the "Two papal priests and their lay helpers [Hoecken's novice-master Peter DeVos, Brothers Magean and two others for Kansas]." Peter H. Burnett speaks of the two priests, calling Hoecken "DeSmet"! George Wilkes pays tribute to these "pilgrims through the wilderness on a mission of faith. . . We treated them with every observance of respect and cheerfully lent them the assistance of our raft." Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 vols., New York, 1938, II, 291. On their discovery of a valuable cut-off for the 1843 emigrants see Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, San Francisco, 1886, I, 398.

ly remote "Oregon" wilderness. The next fifteen years of grinding but gratifying toil on the Rocky Mountain Missions of the Society of Jesus were spent among the Flathead Confederacy.¹¹ He was co-founder in 1854 of the new St. Ignatius Mission among them, and of the abortive Blackfoot mission on the Sun River near Fort Shaw. By 1861 broken health had occasioned his recall to civilization where he was to gain fresh fame as a pioneer apostle of the American Negro in St. Anne's parish, Cincinnati. As late as 1891 we find this indefatigable pastor, his Negro parish now a memory, an active worker at St. Gall's Church, Milwaukee. But his strenuous spirit was wearing away the human machinery; on Easter Monday of 1897, at Marquette College, now Marquette University, Milwaukee, the octogenarian closed his eyes upon a world vastly different from that he had entered.

On the fruits of this toil among the Flatheads Governor Stevens had commented, in an official report of 1855 to President Pierce: "It would be difficult to find a more beautiful example of successful missionary labors." Doctor George Suckley, who as army surgeon attached to Stevens' 1853 expedition met Hoecken, offers an insight into the missionary's personality:

I walked up to the door of the mission house, knocked and entered. I was met by the reverend Superior of the Mission, Father Hoecken, who in a truly benevolent and pleasing manner said: "walk in, you are welcome; we are glad to see the face of a white man." . . . He bade me welcome, had our things brought up from the boat, an excellent dinner prepared for us and a nice room to sleep in and treated us with the cordiality and kindness of a Christian and a gentleman.¹²

The great Pierre DeSmet, S.J., founder of the Rocky Mountain Missions, speaks of Hoecken in a letter of 1856 as "one of my earliest travelling companions to the Flatheads. He has ever labored and still continues to labor here with the greatest zeal and the most

¹¹ Detailed account in Garraghan, II, 305-313. To Bancroft he seemed "nearly as indefatigable as DeSmet"; *History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana*, San Francisco, 1890, 604 n.

¹² The opinions of both Stevens and Suckley are given in Garraghan, II, 309. Father Hoecken so strictly avoided speaking or writing about himself that a personal glimpse like this is precious. From others who knew him we find that he had a keen eye for natural beauty; that he had so identified himself with the Indians as to retain throughout his long life in the east some of their mannerisms and expressions; that for one period of six years he met no fellow White except a lay-brother nor heard any news from the civilized world. See the obituary sketch of his life and character by Walter H. Hill, S.J., in the Jesuit domestic periodical *Woodstock Letters*, XXVI (1897), 364-368.

plentiful results."¹³ Nicholas Congiato, S. J., superior of the Missions in 1855, reports after his mission-survey of that year: "Like his venerable brother, who died on the Missouri in 1851, Father Hoe[c]ken does the work of several men."¹⁴ The Indians, Doctor Suckley informs us, "look up to the Father, and love him. They say that if the Father should go away, they would die." He is their "kind missionary and friend, the much loved. . ."¹⁵

A record of his character-defects would afford a more rounded picture of the man. The "potato incident" of local fame,¹⁶ climaxing his failure among the Coeur d'Alenes, would seem to indicate some brusque tactlessness or imprudence. Even if we so conclude from the meagre evidence at hand, we are forced to concede a candor and lack of malice in the man. This appears throughout the diary; to some extent we see it in the document here published. A diary entry from another page of our manuscript booklet throws light on the author, recording a personality clash between the two zealous and intellectually critical continentals in charge of the Flat-head apostolate:

Un fall out [*sic*] at breakfast Against me by R[everend] P[ère, *vel* Pater] Menet[rey] for the horse given to the chief. My prodigality makes others suffer. I am not master of the property [,] etc [,] etc [.]

Hoecken's work is admirably summed in Gilbert J. Garraghan's monumental *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*:

This sturdy Hollander . . . was taking his first steps [1844] in what was to be a long and distinguished missionary career. He came of a family which had the distinction of giving seven of its members to the service of the Church. His brother, Christian, like himself a Jesuit of the vice-province of Missouri was at the moment resident missionary among the Kansas Potawatomi . . . Adrian Hoecken's years in the mountains were almost entirely spent with the Kalispel. He was the Kalispel missionary *par excellence*. He shaped the destinies of the first St. Ignatius as superior all the years it was maintained, and moved with the Indians to the second and greater St. Ignatius in western Montana, of which he may be reckoned the founder.¹⁷

Adrian Hoecken formed part of a small international community

¹³ Hiram M. Chittenden and Alfred T. Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J., 1801-1873* . . . , 4 vols., New York, 1905, IV, 1228.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1277.

¹⁵ House Executive Document, 33 Congress, 1 session, no. 129, p. 278.

¹⁶ William Bischoff, S.J., *The Jesuits in Old Oregon, a Sketch of Jesuit Activities in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1940*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1945, 43.

¹⁷ Garraghan, II, 305. See also Chittenden-Richardson, II, 444 n. and *passim* for details; Bischoff, 224 for chronological sketch.

at Mission St. Ignatius, two priests and four lay-brothers all from different nations: the Swiss Joseph Menetrey, the Dutch Hoecken, the Irish Peter McGean, the Belgian Francis Huysbrecht, the German Joseph Specht, and the Italian Vincentio Magri. Their mission formed part of a spreading Jesuit network of stations collectively titled the Rocky Mountain Missions and centered largely on a parallelogram of what is today upper eastern Washington, northern Idaho and western Montana.

St. Ignatius itself had been moved that very winter (1854-1855) from a ten-year established but unpromising site near modern Cusick, Washington, to a spot one hundred and ninety miles northeast, near Flathead lake, in modern western Montana. In 1855 it was a relatively imposing cluster of farm buildings, residences, and church. A sketch of its prairie site—mountains looming on the near horizon and tepees dotting the tall grass in clannish huddles—has been preserved for us in the archives of the Jesuit province of Missouri. The quaint little figures who would people this sketch were as international in character as the Jesuit community which served its church; Hoecken enumerates Blackfeet, Spokanes, Kettles or Chaudieres, Coeur D'Alenes, Creoles, even Creeks and Iroquois!

More precisely the mission was a spiritual center for the far-flung Flathead Confederacy, a military alliance against the buffalo-monopolizing Blackfeet. They were in all two thousand savages of four major tribes: the Flatheads proper, under the great Head Chief Victor (senior chief of the confederacy as well), the Kutenais under Head Chief Michael, the Pend d'Oreilles under Head Chief Alexander, and the lower Pend d'Oreilles (or Kalispel, though this name is often used of either Pend d'Oreille group); these, not participating in the treaty, were under another Head Chief Victor (Alimaken).¹⁸ Most were, with dialect-differences, children of the

¹⁸ "These tribes are by the Treaty consolidated into one Nation, with Victor the chief of the Flatheads, as Head Chief of the nation," wrote Stevens to Commissioner Manypenny on the last day of the council; Partoll, 312. But the alliance in actual fact was a loose one; cf. the speech of Red Wolf, (*ibid.*, 290-291), of Michael (*ibid.*, 299), and of Alexander (*ibid.*, 303). Congiato says of Hoecken at this very time: "He has succeeded in uniting three nations and a part of the Flatheads to live together under his spiritual direction"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1277. The Flatheads proper had been drastically reduced in numbers during the few years preceding this council. The nation of Alexander had been formed from various wandering groups at a relatively recent time. Both Pend d'Oreille groups, Dr. Suckley wrote, "are brave in battle, and are said to be feared and avoided by the Blackfeet"; *Railroad Reports*, vol. I, part 2, 298. Victor was the greatest chief in Flathead history; when he died in 1870 the noted Lieutenant Mullan promised to have the government raise a monument to his memory. Alexander Temglagketzin, or Ca-nacht-ketchim

great Salishan family which totals some eighteen or nineteen thousand American and Canadian Indians. Properly the Flathead tribe itself belonged to the now abandoned St. Mary's some twenty-eight miles up the Bitter Root Valley and some fifty miles below St. Ignatius. The two Pend d'Oreille mission stations, St. Ignatius and St. Francis Borgia, had just become the new Ignatius Mission.¹⁹

To this new site in Flathead Valley, with its "pleasing variety of woodland and prairie, lake and river—the whole crowned in the distance by the white summit of the mountains," over one thousand Indians had gone to make their permanent home by Easter of 1855.²⁰ During the next few months construction went on apace, fields were plowed and sowed, plans were evolved to secure goods from St. Louis via the American Fur Company and Fort Benton. A major event this summer was to be the visit of Right Reverend Magloire Blanchet, Bishop of Nesqually, who would conduct colorful Confirmation ceremonies. True, there were storm clouds gathering on the horizon: furtive Indian runners slipping from tribe to tribe as an ocean-wave of unrest swept from the Pacific coast to the Great Plains; white men preparing to stream north into Chaudiere and Spokane land as the greatest gold strike since '49 drew Californians to Washington territory; and distressing rumors that Whites would possess the earth.²¹ But the superior, Father

(man-without-a-horse), thin faced and somber visaged, was an "old friend" and travelling companion of De Smet's early apostolate. (Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1232). There is an 1859 photo of him in Garraghan, III, 78. Michael or Michel (incorrectly named Michelle throughout the Partoll report) "recalls in the midst of his tribe the life and virtues of the ancient patriarchs," De Smet wrote in 1861 (Chittenden-Richardson, III, 964); he is not to be confused with the great Flathead warrior, Chief Michael Insula.

¹⁹ There is a contemporary sketch of St. Mary's in Lawrence B. Palladino, S.J., *Indian and White in the Northwest, a History of Catholicity in Montana, 1831 to 1891*, 2nd edition, Lancaster, Pa., 1922, 96; another view in Garraghan II, 312. Founded in 1841 it was "temporarily" closed (1848–1866) and finally abandoned (1891). A contemporary drawing of new St. Ignatius is given in Garraghan, II, 312. On the Pend d'Oreilles see Frederick W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, 2 vols., XXX (1907), II, 646–647; on the Kutenais or Kútonâqa, "a distinct linguistic stock in two dialects, Upper Kutenai and Flatbow," see *ibid.*, 740–742. The four nations at the Flathead Council numbered collectively about 2000 Indians (cp. H. Stevens, II, 503, Partoll, 312, and the comparative estimates from 1806 to 1853 in *Railroad Reports* vol. I, part 2, 417–418).

²⁰ Chittenden-Richardson, II, 1232–1233.

²¹ Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, 108, tells us that this discovery of gold at Colville in the spring of 1855 made it difficult for Governor Stevens to restrain his escort from deserting. Colville became "the Eldorado [*sic*] of the North" where miners made "from 5 to 15 Dollars Per Day all winter" of 1855–56, MS: James Barron to W. H. Wallace, April 7, 1856, in MSS: Wm. H. Wallace Indian War Papers, no. 16, University of Washington Archives, Seattle, Washington.

Congiato, off for the Santa Clara Valley in California after a three month visitation of the missions, left St. Ignatius behind with the happy thought that all was "going on well," an estimate he probably confirmed when, on leaving it, he passed Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens coming on to fashion a treaty of peace and progress with the Confederacy.²²

Father Hoecken, left alone with the four coadjutor brothers, was busily keeping within bounds a small cholera plague, and at the same time was preparing to send an Indian guard of honor some two hundred miles west to meet the Bishop, "when our plans were broken up by a message from Governor Stevens, summoning all our Indians to a council to be held some thirty miles off, in St. Mary's or Bitter Root Valley, at a place called Hellgate. . ."²³

Stevens, completing his "Treaty Tour," was getting farther and farther out into a wilderness which was soon to explode behind him with appalling fury into "an expensive and disastrous war—from the effects of which the territories will suffer for many a year."²⁴ Starting with the Puget Sound tribes and working inland toward the Blackfeet domain on the Great Plains, Stevens had followed the Joel Palmer plan "to concentrate the Indians on a few reservations and pay for their lands with useful goods and instruct them in farming."²⁵ Five thousand Indians had just put their seal to the great Walla Walla treaty and had then withdrawn to prepare their summary vengeance.

This was the prelude to the Flathead Treaty and to the immediately subsequent Blackfoot-Flathead-Nez Perce treaty. It was the prelude to bloody war with the Whites (from which the Flathead confederates abstained), to a welcome peace with the Blackfeet, and

²² Chittenden-Richardson, II, 1237; and Stevens, II, 75. Menetrey was probably one of the two companions with Congiato when the party met Stevens on July third, eighty-six miles from the mission.

²³ Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1234.

²⁴ House Executive Document, 35 Congress, 1 session, no. 38, 2.

²⁵ R. M. Gatke, "Stevens' Indian Treaties (1854-59)," in J. T. Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, New York, 1940, V. 181-182. See also George W. Fuller, *History of the Pacific Northwest*, 2nd edition, New York, 1938, chaps. XII-XIV; Stevens, with maps and illustrations. The House Exec. Doc. (p. 10) reproduces a letter from Father Pandosy to Father Mesplie at the Dalles telling of war talk which had been the chief topic of discussion since the Walla Walla council, as the Indians plan to unite and fight for their lands. Both Pandosy and Major Alvord, who transmitted this information, were censured as alarmists! Father Joset calls the Walla Walla agreement "a mock treaty, in order to gain time and prepare for war"; R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "Père Joset's Account of the Indian War of 1858," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1947), 285-314. At this time the regulars in Oregon and Washington "numbered only 335 men"; Fuller, 220.

to a most unwelcome land-grab by the United States government. Ahead lay the long, bitter decades to the Garfield treaty of 1872, then the short, bitter years to the Flathead decline. Through all this, and through the tension of the 1877 Nez Perce War, the Flatheads must often have meditated upon the sentiments expressed by Chief Big Canoe that bright summer noon of July 10, 1855, at Hell Gate:

It is our land. . . If you make a farm, I would not go there and pull up your crops. I would not drive you away from it. If I were to go to your country and say, "Give me a little piece," I wonder would you say, "Here, take it." . . I am very poor. This is all the small piece I have got. I am not going to let it go.²⁶

On Sunday, June 24, 1855, Stevens had reached Sacred Heart Mission among the Coeur d'Alenes. After a conference with the chiefs on Tuesday, he left "the most cordial and hospitable" Jesuits.²⁷ A summer storm delayed him for two days in his next camp, where a Flathead arrived to say that "all were looking forward to the council."²⁸ On Friday he forded the Coeur d'Alene River at sixteen different places, and paused to exchange a few words with Father Congiato, S.J., and his companions who were returning from the Bitter Root Valley. That Sunday a Coeur d'Alene Indian, who had been dispatched some days previously to the Bitter Root Valley, returned with a message from Special Agent Adams: "everything is quiet in the Indian country" and the Flathead tribes are ready to assemble.²⁹ The whole of July fourth, the day Hoecken started for Hell Gate, Stevens spent floundering one hundred and fifty yards across the swollen Bitter Root; a nearby Flathead group, unencumbered with a pack train, did it in an hour! While Hoecken waited impatiently at Hell Gate the next day, Stevens delayed almost until noon before he broke camp and journeyed eighteen miles up the right bank of the river. A Flathead brought a note from Adams "saying that the Indians were patiently waiting for my arrival."³⁰ Stevens sent assurances to Adams that he would be there

²⁶ Stevens, II, 90; cf. the Partoll version, 291-295. The Pend d'Oreille Big Canoe (1799-1882) was noted as a staunch friend of the Whites.

²⁷ I. I. Stevens' *Narrative of 1855, Railroad Reports*, vol. XII, book I, 201.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 202.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 203. Thomas Adams, a Stevens aide and artist on the 1853 explorations, was Special Indian Agent for the Flatheads from 1854; see H. Stevens, I, 306, II, 75, 92; Bancroft, *History of Montana*, 102 n. Stevens had promised the Flatheads a council and treaty two years before, during an informal council at St. Mary's in the Bitter Root Valley, September 30 and October 1, 1853.

³⁰ Stevens, *Narrative of 1855*, 207.

next day, but the agent apparently neglected to tell Hoecken. Early on the seventh, when the Jesuit was already back at the mission, Stevens met the Indian vanguard and soon established camp for his small band of twenty-one.

The official record of what followed transmits the Indian thought only crudely at best, often garbling it to the point of unintelligibility. With Hoecken's remarks to guide us as to the intent of certain speeches, however, we may draw from these notes of the proceedings the official picture of the council.

The afternoon of his arrival the governor was host to the three head chiefs at an informal conference. After the usual prolonged puffing of tobacco, to signify mutual friendship, Stevens outlined his plan for a reservation and formally invited the chiefs to the council; he solemnly promised that the proposed treaty with the Blackfeet would keep that tribe "out of this valley, and if that will not do it we will then have soldiers who will."³¹ Chief Victor announced that twelve of his peaceful hunters had been killed by raiding Blackfeet recently, and many horses stolen. "I would have had my revenge ere this," he said, had it not been for fear of White soldiers.³²

At one-thirty on Monday afternoon, July ninth, Stevens and six assistants met the assembled braves in formal council. The governor regretted that Victor of the lower Pend d'Oreilles would not attend the council; he wished all four nations to act as one nation, selling to the Great Father in Washington all their lands except a tract large enough for their cattle and farms. In return the Whites offered a hospital with resident physician, and for twenty years a farmer, a blacksmith, a wheelwright, a saw mill, a grist mill, and a school. Each Indian was to receive "a large amount" of "everything to start your farms"—with more of each necessary item yearly for twenty years.³³ Their tribal law was to be respected. The Black Robes were mentioned, not without implied criticism. Stevens mistrusted their influence, as the event was to prove.

We look with favor on the missionaries that come amongst the Indians where they desire them and I think their coming may do them good. The

³¹ Partoll, 285.

³² *Ibid.*, 286.

³³ *Ibid.*, 288. Most of these things had already been made available to these tribes by the Jesuits. Thus Suckley reports at the old St. Ignatius Mission in 1853: pigs, poultry, cattle, agricultural implements, tools, a windmill, blacksmith shop and carpenter shop (served by lay-brothers), barns, cow-sheds, houses, a one hundred and sixty acre mission farm, Indian houses; he also tells how this community makes its own ploughshares, tobacco-pipes, bricks, candles, etc. Garraghan, II, 310.

priest will be your friend, but he will *not* have control whatever over your affairs. The priest will advise you in your spiritual affairs—that which relates to God, but he will have no control over your temporal affairs, your own laws; that you will manage yourself.³⁴

Victor replied that he had confidence in Stevens' good intentions, but that he could not give the Whites a large piece of land since he had very little. Alexander touched briefly on hell, God, man's final purpose, and his people's undisciplined character; perhaps fear of the Whites would supply what the priestly exhortations lacked. "The priest instructs me and these people here," Alexander concluded; "I am very well content with the priest and am very well satisfied with you."³⁵ The Flathead Red Wolf then protested that all this talk of one nation, where before there had been three, was confusing.

The following afternoon Chief Big Canoe delivered one of the longest and most poignant speeches of the council.³⁶ He could not understand the need for a treaty since there had been no war; his people had never spilt a drop of White blood. At great cost to his tribe he has humored the Whites by calling back war parties who wished revenge against the Blackfeet. "I am quiet and sit down on my land," he protested; "I thought nobody would talk about land, would trouble me." For his part, he would never go to the White man's country and impose on them this way. This is his country; he grew up here; he is poor and wants to keep his land. He wishes the Whites to go away to their own country. The White men talk "so smoothly, so well"; they "just talk as they please" to the poor Indian.

But Stevens seemed determined to have his own way. He summarized Big Canoe's speech, framing it to his purposes and concluding that the chief favored the reservation scheme! Big Canoe protested: "I do not understand you right"; but Stevens turned now to the head chiefs.³⁷ None was opposed to the general idea of a reservation, though Victor made it clear he would not leave his Bitter Root Valley. Stevens emphasized the alternatives: Flathead Valley or Bitter Root Valley. He spoke flatteringly of each chief's prowess, painted a dark picture of the difficulties involved in

³⁴ Partoll, 288.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 290.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 291-295. On Big Canoe, see above, n. 26. Red Wolf, or Isaac, was a Kutenai whose mother was a Flathead.

³⁷ Partoll, 296.

supplying two reservations, and promised each chief a furnished home and five hundred dollars a year for twenty years.

You will have your priest with you, whether you go to the mission or Fort Owen; and here I would say those who want the priest can have him. The Great Father means that each one shall do as he pleases in reference to receiving the instructions of the priests. . . .³⁸

At the Wednesday afternoon session, since Victor still clung to his valley, Stevens exerted every effort to persuade Alexander to join Victor in the Bitter Root. But Alexander held fast to his own land: the priest was there, the berries and roots were there, it was the only place large enough. Chief Michael's non-committal silence was interpreted by the governor as indifference: "he will stand by whatever" the other two chiefs decide.³⁹ During an informal recess Alexander agreed to accept Stevens' favored spot, the Bitter Root Valley, if the importunate governor "would say he could not go to heaven at his own place."⁴⁰ Stevens ignored the irony and urged the chiefs to dwell in common on earth as they would in heaven! Clearly, an impasse had been reached. With singular lack of common sense Stevens ascribed this result of his efforts to the adverse influence of the Jesuits. "It being obvious that no progress would be made by continuing the council today, and that an influence was being exerted by the mission which might be adverse to the views of the government," he adjourned the council until Friday and sent again for Father Hoecken.⁴¹

Hoecken appears no more in the official transcript, but Stevens will write to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the last day of the council: "I carefully explained the whole matter to Father

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 297.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 300. Throughout the council Stevens spoke too sharply, too self-confidently, to the chiefs. As the Jesuits could have informed him, the Flatheads and Kalispels, unlike the Kettles or Coeur d'Alenes, had "to be treated with gentleness so that one gains nothing by being brusque." Garraghan, II, 385.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* This was a surprising attitude, considering both the religious tolerance of the New Englander Stevens and his many enthusiastic reports of Catholic mission-work. The key to this paradox would seem to be his annoyed conviction that "so great has been their desire for peace that they have overlooked all right, propriety. . . . And the Indians seeing that the missionaries are on their side, are fortified in the belief that they are fighting in a holy cause. . . ."; Stevens II, 228-229. The governor was apparently unaware of the outbreak of cholera which detained Hoecken—a disease which had carried off Hoecken's brother just four years previously, and which the Indians regarded with awe as an "implacable scourge"; Chittenden-Richardson, II, 650; "thousands" of Plains Indians fell in the Cholera Year of 1853; *ibid.*, IV, 1283.

Hoecken, the Jesuit Missionary, whose presence I had required at the Treaty Ground, and whose influence over these Indians is almost unbounded."⁴² Stevens' change of heart after his talk with Hoecken is evident in his further statement to the Commissioner:

Father Hoecken has labored faithfully among the Indian Tribes for the last ten years, and has gained his influence by energy, devotion and the natural ascendancy of a patient and indomitable will. He has promised to interpose no obstacle whatever to the views of the government, and I have confidence in his singleness of purpose.⁴³

Hoecken's absence had undoubtedly annoyed Stevens as much as Stevens' absence had annoyed Hoecken on July fifth. Stevens was to labor under the illusion that the discreet Hoecken now "highly approved the treaty,"⁴⁴ an impression belied by the tone of the Jesuit's writings. In common with the Indians, however, he did highly approve the element of peace with the Blackfeet.

Tempers flared during the Friday session. Alexander complained that the governor had concealed the small size of the proposed reservation: "when you first talked, you talked good; now you talk sharp; you talk like a Blackfoot."⁴⁵ Stevens taxed Alexander with contradicting himself; he emphasized the temporary right of pasture on the land sold. Suddenly Victor interjected: "Where is my country: I want to speak."⁴⁶ Stevens tried to silence him, then tactlessly brushed him aside: Alexander had agreed, and he was now speaking with Alexander. But Alexander snapped: "I was talking to you and I told you no."⁴⁷ Stevens therefore ignored him and turned now to Victor! Much more was said before the session adjourned but no progress was made beyond this point. Once Stevens openly, though by indirection, insulted Victor.⁴⁸

A final session on Monday, July sixteenth, settled nothing. Neither Alexander nor Michael would hear of moving. Victor protested the loss of his lands, and made an ambiguous offer. Let the Great Father come from Washington and see for himself whether

⁴² *Ibid.*, 313.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 314.

⁴⁴ Stevens, II, 85, 90. Of course, he was under the same impression as to the Indians' reactions at the end (see above, n. 4).

⁴⁵ Partoll, 303.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 304.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ "Or is Victor a chief? Is he as one of his people has called him, an old woman? dumb as a dog? If Victor is a chief let him speak now." Partoll, 304. Ambrose, Tilcoostay, Red Wolf, and Beartrack each gives his view of the question. But it is difficult to judge the degree of accuracy the official record achieves in transcribing these speeches.

they could live on the proposed sites. He would stand by the personal decision of the president. Both Stevens and Hoecken understood Victor to have made a compromise offer. But the Flatheads themselves subsequently remained thoroughly convinced that this very proposal of Victor's had guaranteed to them the Bitter Root Valley.⁴⁹ Stevens therefore had made a treaty hinging entirely on an ambiguous compromise which, moreover, had been explicitly rejected by the other chiefs. He falsely assumed that the confederation was a single nation, and that all would submit to the presidential choice. In cold fact, he does not even seem to have intended any further investigation; that same year he confided to Father Ravalli, S.J., that the reserve was to be in the Flathead Valley.⁵⁰

Stevens hastily accepted Victor's conditions, and each of the three chiefs put his X to the revised document. Father Hoecken signed as a witness.⁵¹ Before the gifts were distributed and the council formally closed, the powerful Flathead sub-chief, Moses or Stietiedloodshoo, contributed this bitter and significant speech:

My brother is buried there. I did not think you would take the only piece of ground I had. Here are three fellows (the chiefs), they say get on your horse and go. . . . If you would give us a large place I would not talk foolish. If I go in your country and say give me this, will you give it me. May be you do know it . . . they have only one piece of ground. . . . Last year when you were talking about the Blackfeet you were joking.⁵²

⁴⁹ Palladino, 95, and sources cited in Burns, "Jesuits, Northern Indians, and Nez Perce War," 45 n.

⁵⁰ See the second of the two letters here appended. Stevens could actually write to Commissioner Manypenny on July 16, 1855, that the difficulties experienced in the Flathead Council had been many "in consequence of the dislike of the Flatheads to mission establishments"! The Jesuits could have enlightened the governor as to the obvious source of his difficulties; they had previously made efforts to have the Pend d'Oreilles move to the Coeur d'Alene Valley or to the Camas and Horse Plains, only to receive the answer: "This is our country; here are the graves of our forefathers; here we were born, and here we wish to die; we do not want to leave our country poor as it is." *Railroad Reports*, vol. XII, book I, 298.

⁵¹ In the manuscript original (OJH Arch.) "A. J. Hoecken, S.J., Miss[ionarius]" appears sixth below Governor Stevens. But it is nowhere to be found in President Buchanan's ratified copy (manuscript, OJH Arch.).

⁵² Partoll, 310. Moses was the baptismal name given to Stietiedloodshoo by Father De Smet who was his "adopted Indian brother." He was a powerful Flathead sub-chief whose surname meant "Bravest-of-the-Brave." De Smet tells us he was "distinguished by his superior skill in horsemanship," and "the handsomest Indian warrior of my acquaintance." Chittenden-Richardson, I, 305, II, 472, 576, 766, IV, 1225, 1240. According to the official version of his speech, Moses understood the transaction in the same sense as Stevens wished, and rejected it; however, even Stevens realized that Michael and Alexander had not agreed to move (Partoll, 313), and so this element of the speech may be badly recorded.

The Jesuits aided Stevens more than once during his Treaty Tour, but the real Jesuit contribution to this Flathead treaty was to come after Stevens had departed. Having "bought" the vast Indian holdings, the United States government did not pay for them. The money, the tools, the school and hospital, the blacksmith—all the grand promises came to nothing. The all-important presidential survey was forgotten until 1872, by which time White settlement had already reached the Bitter Root Valley.⁵³ Nevertheless the government had the effrontery to request the struggling Jesuits themselves to make the payment!⁵⁴ They did so, but it was simply a continuation of the splendid work they had been doing for fifteen years. Nine months after the Flathead Council, Father Hoecken wrote to Father De Smet in St. Louis:

Here in our missions, we already observe all the conditions stipulated in the treaty concluded last year by Governor Stevens, at Hellgate. Our brothers assist the Indians, and teach them how to cultivate the ground. They distribute the fields and the seeds for sowing and planting, as well as the plows and other agricultural instruments. Our blacksmith works for them: he repairs their guns, their axes, their knives; the carpenter renders them great assistance in constructing their houses . . . our little mill is daily in use for grinding their grain . . . in a word, all we have and all we are is sacrificed to the welfare of the Indian. The savings that our religious economy enables us to make . . . is theirs! Through love of Jesus Christ we are ready to sacrifice all, even life itself.⁵⁵

And in the same letter, Hoecken proposes a reservation idea, much more magnanimous than the government's, which he feels could be effected:

Were I authorized to suggest a plan, I would propose to have all the upper lands evacuated by the whites, and form of it a territory exclusively of Indians; afterward I would lead there all the Indians of the inferior portion [lower country], such as the Nez Percés, the Cayuses, the Yakimas, the Coeur d'Alènes and the Spokans. Well-known facts lead me to believe

⁵³ In a letter written less than a year after the treaty Hoecken mentions "the Whites, the number of whom is daily augmenting in St. Mary's valley"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1240; by 1877 there would be 450 Whites in the Bitter Root Valley. Steven's initial error was compounded by the disgraceful Garfield Treaty of 1872: the name of the Flathead head chief was simply forged to the instrument which was sent to the Senate for approval; when the head chief still stood firm, the government set up its own puppet regime and enforced the treaty as best it could. In 1883 an investigating Senate Subcommittee exposed the fraud.

⁵⁴ Palladino, 96.

⁵⁵ Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1245-1246. The agricultural implements etc. distributed did not come from the government, but were supplied by the Jesuits; the government gave not "a farthing"; *ibid.*

that this plan, with such superior advantages, might be effected, by means of missions, in the space of two or three years.⁵⁶

Hoecken adds:

When, oh when! shall the oppressed Indian find a poor corner of earth on which he may lead a peaceful life, serving and loving his God in tranquillity, and preserving the ashes of his ancestors without fear of beholding them profaned and trampled beneath the feet of an unjust usurper?⁵⁷

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Documents

I

Au Rév[érend] P[ère] Joset, Août 1, 1855.⁵⁸

Voici qu'un occasion s'offre pour vous écrire.

J'ai reçu votre bonne lettre, merci pour les avis; voici les offices

Gov Stevens, depuis la gamache Coeurs d'Alène, avait écrit à Adams, qu'il espérait de voir à la porte d'Enfer les Pères et Frères d'ici: le 4 Juillet je suis allé avec le F[rère] Magean, le 5 je [MS: XXVI] l'ai attendu toute la journée; le 6 je suis reparti: quelques jours après je reçois un billet d'Adams, que Gov Stevens désirait me voir: plusieurs petits enfants étaient en agonie ou bien malades; j'ai différé de jour en jour; voilà qu'un ordre formel arrive de me rendre au Conseil [*sic*]. Je suis allé, il m'a bien reçu, quoique on

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1240-1241. This plan was not only more just and generous, but it avoided Stevens' difficulty of moving those tribes most attached to their land; the Kalispels were already being persuaded to come to the new St. Ignatius.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* During the war which broke out in 1855 and again in 1858, the missionaries worked actively to restrain their flocks.

⁵⁸ In editing the appended manuscripts I have retained the vagaries and inconsistencies of the hasty original, with a minimum of *sics*, supplying some accents and basic punctuation. Capitalization, in general somewhat erratic, spelling, paragraphing, insofar as the intent of the original could be ascertained, all are Hoecken's own. Pagination (my own) has been indicated in brackets [MS: 1]. Omissions are duly noted and unbracketed topic headings introduced. Colloquial freedom has been sought in translating; for the spirit or full context of a phrase the letter has occasionally been sacrificed.

pouvait voir et entendre facilement qu'il n'est pas ami des catholiques. Quelle comédie et tragédie dans tout ce concil[e], trop longue pour l'écrire: bien; pas 1/10 a été compris; car Ben Kyser parle la langue tête platte très mal, et rend les choses en Anglais [MS: XXVII] aussi très mal. Un traité a été fait, dira t'on [?]. Les Sauvages diront en riant, qu'on leur a parlé à tors et à travers de fair[e] la paix (chemtueg [(hemtuêq) or (ihemtueg)?] term employé par Ben; ils disaient [: "] à quoi bon faire la paix; a t'il jamais eu de guerre avec des blancs ["]; tous montraient leur mains pas souillées. Mais in fine finale le Gouv[erneur] voulaient [voulait] les têtes plates, Pends d'oreilles, Coutonays, Calispels dans un endroit; mais où, vous en rirez, en haut dans la vallée tête platte, un 15 de milles plus haut [?] que l'ancienne Mission. Adams proposait cette place comme bonne au Gouv[erneur] et aux Sauvages, et Pierre Iroq[uois], il disait, de ne pas le croire, que notre place était la meilleure. [MS: XXVIII]

Victor tête platte tenait pour son pays, Alexander [et] Michel sont[?] pour ici.

Un jour une tragédie dans la comédie, Victor étant appelé une vieille femme, un chien par le Gouv[erneur], du moins par son interprète, laisse la place et retourne dans sa loge. Alex[andre] appelle le Gouv[erneur] un homme à doubles bouches, un pied noir. Quelle conclusion. Victor veut avoir les deux places examinées par le Gouv[ernement] et il donne son choix en conséq[ue]nce. Si notre place est jugée la meilleure, il viendra. Alexandre et Michel ont refusé net, d'aller ailleurs. Comme cela ils ont signé. Qu'auront t'ils [?], qui le sait, de plus: le Gouv[erneur] a demandé si Alex[andre] aimerait d'avoir un moulin, un moulin à scie, un [MS: XXIX] fermier, un forgeron, un maître d'école, à chaque demande réponse non, pensant qu'ils ont déjà tous [tout] cela.

Je n'ai en aucune chose dans tout cela, jamais la religion y a été nommée de part et d'autre: cependant avant de partir le Gouv[erneur] me dit. ["] Père, votre influence est grande, c'est pour vous que les Sauv[ages] tiennent à leur terres ["]. Il avait déjà dit cela à Alex[andre:"] vous aimez les Pères; pour cela vous ne voulaient [*in loco* voulez?] pas céder ["]. Réponse [":"] j'aime mes terres; je n'aime pas les Pères, autrefois les Pères à S[aint] Marie je restais sur mes terres ["]. Plura coram; car je crois d'après le plan du P[ère] Men[etrey] des [de?] descendre à S[aint] Paul pour y faire ma retraite, si nihil grave obstet; [MS: XXX] après quelques jours le monde s'en iront à la chasse au [en?]

traité de paix: alors il y restera ici peu de monde jusque l'automne

.....
A propos le Gouv[erneur] veut les Coeurs d' alène ici ou [un?] avec les Chaudières chez les [MS: XXXI] Yakamas [*sic*], Catholiques avec Catholiques. Les Spokan[e]s protestants (comme il dit) avec les Nez percés protestants.

En cas que V[otre] R[évérence] n'approuve pas ce plan, envoyez la réponse chez les C[oeurs] d'al[ène]. De là alors je retournerais avec les objets qui doivent y être d'en bas.

[unsigned]

II

1856 Jan[vier] 10

Mon Rév[érend] et Cher Père Supérieur

Une des plus grandes privations que je souff[re] ici, est d'être exilé ici à une si grande distance d'un Père Supérieur; dont j'aurais le doux besoin presque journellement. Pour satisfaire à votre demande et pour savoir ce que nous avons à faire, et à même temps pour ma consolation, je commence cette lettre; quand pourrait je la faire parvenir à son adres[se], Deus scit. Quelques jours après votre départ d'ici M[onsieur] Adams, qui était quasi l'Agent pour ces Sauvages, est venu ici pour nous inviter tous au concile, au traité entre le Gouv[erneur] Stevens et les Pends d'oreilles [*sic*], Coutonays, Têtes plates, qui devait se faire le 4 juillet. Je suis parti avec F[rère] Magean. Le Gouv[erneur] n'y était pas, le 5 nous attendons avec impatience, et le 6 nous retournons, car le temps était trop précieux pour nous. Le 10 Adams envoya un billet que le Gouv[erneur] désire de me voir: 5 ou 6 petits enfants étaient dangereusement malades d'une espèce de choléra. Je tiens deux nuits un cheval attaché pour aller voir le Gouv[erneur] si les Enfants [MS: II] allaient [?] mieux. Voilà le [que?] je reçois une lettre du Gouv[erneur] que je vous donne ici; j'y vais le lendemain; il me reçoit extérieurement très poliment; mais je ne vois pas pourquoi il m'a appelé; car je n'ai rien à faire avec le traité. Aucun des sauvages voulait entendre de *vendre* leurs terres: à la fin Gouv[erneur] Stevens leur proposa[?] deux réserves, l'une depuis la fourche de lolo jusqu'à quelques miles plus haut que l'ancienne mission de S[ainte] Marie, l'autre depuis ici jusqu'au lac supérieur au nord d'ici. L'affaire était presque finie, le réserve leur aurait été donnée; quoique tous les Pends [MS: III] d'oreilles

et Coutonays refusaient. Peut-être la Gouv[erneur] voulait que j'aurais pris sa part, mais cela aurait été contre ma conscience, convaincu que cette place ne convenait pas ni aux têtes plates et et [sic] certainement pas aux Calispels. Bone Deus, c'en était fait de la mission S[aint] Ignace.

A la fin l'insignifiant Victor, qui pridie fuerat dictus femina, canis, dicitur dux principalis nationum unitarum, propose d'avoir les deux réserves examin[es] par le Président, et il promet de suivre le jugement du Président dans ce choix. Alexandre chef Pends d'oreille[s] et Michel chef Coutonays, refusent nettement de prendre d'autre réserve que celle-ci sur leur terres, même si le Président disait [?] que l'autre réserve soit meilleure. Le Gouv[erneur] leur dit un jour: [""] c'est parceque vous avez des Pères que vous tenez à votre place [""]. Alex[andre] lui dit [:""] non, je n'aime pas les Pères (mendacium officiosum) mais j'aime mes terres[""]. Le traité a été conclu avec cette double réserve à faire examiner [?] par le Président, quoique le Gouv[erneur] a ensuite cédé [?] au Père Ravalli, que la Mission S[aint] Ignace était dans la réserve. [MS: IV] Avant de partir le Gouv[erneur] me dit encore: [""] Père c'est parce que les sauvage[s] vous aiment, votre influence est grande, pour cela, ils ne veulent pas venir sur cette réserve tête plate[""].

De retour ici on a commencé ensuite à élever la grange dans le bas-fond derrière l'église provisoire. P[ère] Menetrey est revenu, chargé des ordinationes conclues après la consulte. Deo gratias, je tâche de m'y conformer; si j'y avais [?] été présent j'aurais proposé des choses, qui auraient déplu à d'autres; ils auraient dis [dit?] que je semblais [?] avoir plus ici sans raisons, ils auraient plaider [plaidé?] [MS: V] leur besoins: transeat. Dieu a soin même des petits oiseaux. Le 16 d'a[o]ût je suis parti d'ici pour aller à Colvil[l]e pour y faire la grande retraite, si nécessaire pour moi.

.....
Je crains le voisinage des Blancs pour nos Néophytes. O si le Gouv[erneur] avait la confiance dans notre Comp[agnie] et voudrait ces moyens; on remplirait tous les artic[les] du traité consciencieusement.

Les frères vous saluent; comme aussi M[onsieur] Croke. Mes respects aux RR. [Révérends] Nobili, Devos, Mengarini, et aliis quamvis ignotis personaliter.

A[DRIAN] HOECKEN,
s[ocietatis] j[esu]

Translations

I

To Reverend Father Joset, August 1, 1855.

At last—I find a chance to write to you!⁵⁹

I received your welcome letter; thanks for the advice. Here are the new assignments.⁶⁰

Summons to the Council

After the Coeur d'Alenes' root-digging season,⁶¹ Governor Stevens had written Mr. Adams that he hoped to see our Fathers and Coadjutor Brothers at Hell Gate.⁶² On July the fourth I set out with Brother Magean;⁶³ all day of the fifth I waited for Stevens; on the sixth I started home again. Several days later I got a note from Adams to the effect that Governor Stevens wished to see me.⁶⁴ Since quite a few of our youngsters were dying or extremely ill I delayed departure from day to day. And then I received a formal command

⁵⁹ Then at St. Paul's Mission among the Chaudieres, Kettle Falls, Washington. John Joseph Augustine Joset, S.J., (1810–1890), a native of Courfaivre, Switzerland, and former professor at the College of Fribourg, had been superior general of the Rocky Mountain region, 1845–1850. See R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "A Jesuit in the War Against the Northern Indians," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, LXI (1950), 9–54.

⁶⁰ I here omit less important domestic details: a list of household duties assigned each Jesuit (given also in Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1242), a notice that cholera had carried off some ten Indians recently.

⁶¹ Lit. "after the Camas." This is not the "variété de pomme" of Larousse, (*Grand dictionnaire universel*, VIII: 977), but *Camassia Esculenta* (cf. Nootka *chamas* or "sweet"), a hyacinth-related bulb used by many Pacific Northwest tribes as a staple food; Hodge, I, 196; missionary writings *passim* in OJHA Arch.)

⁶² Elliot Coues, ed., *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, 4 vols., New York, 1893, III, 1071 n., incorrectly says that Hell Gate was so named by De Smet; Chittenden and Richardson, II, 582, mal-translate it from a De Smet letter into "Devil's Gate." Hell Gate was the principal entrance of the marauding parties of the Blackfeet through the Rockies. The council grounds was some six miles west of "the deep, dark portal" of Hell Gate which is itself just east of modern Missoula, and therefore in what Bancroft calls Hellgate Valley; *History of Montana*, 590–591, 626; Palladino, 359; Stevens, II, 77–78, 92–93; Garraghan, II, 264–65, 348. Its exact location is noted on the adaptation of Stevens' map; Stevens, II, 16. Throughout Hoecken's text it is often difficult to determine whether his abbreviation of Governor is "gouv.," "govr.," or even "govt."

⁶³ Peter (?) McGean or Magean, S.J., (1813–1877) of Westmeath, Ireland, one of Hoecken's companions on the 1843 journey to the missions, was the humorous and hard-working farm manager. Hoecken was probably the only priest at St. Ignatius when Stevens' message came; see above, n. 22.

⁶⁴ "Reçois" in the text is obscure, possibly due to misspelling or attempted correction.

to appear at the council! I went; Stevens received me kindly, though it was evident (and easily appreciated) that he does not overly favor Catholics.⁶⁵

Lingual difficulty. Treaty terms.

What a ridiculous tragi-comedy the whole council proved. It would take too long to write it all down—ah, well! Not a tenth of it was actually understood by either party, for Ben Kyser speaks Flathead very badly and is no better at translating into English.⁶⁶ A treaty has been made—or so they will say. The Indians would recount with some glee how they were spoken to at illogical cross-purposes to make a peace (*chemtueg*, as Ben put it). They ask: "What is the sense of making peace? Have we ever been at war with the Whites?" They all show their hands unstained by blood. The upshot of the whole matter, however, was that the governor wanted the Flatheads, the Pend d'Oreilles, the Kutenais, and the Kalispels in one place. Where, you ask? Absurdly enough, farther up the Flathead valley,⁶⁷ some fifteen miles above the abandoned St. Mary's Mission. Adams recommended this place both to the governor and to the Indians. Iroquois Peter warned them not to believe Adams; that our spot was better.⁶⁸

Chiefs refuse terms, sign conditionally

Chief Victor was for the land his tribe now holds. Chiefs Alexander and Michael favor the St. Ignatius area.

One day tragedy interrupts the comedy. Victor being called

⁶⁵ But see above, n. 41.

⁶⁶ Benjamin Kiser (sometimes Keiser) was a half-breed Shawnee who, with Sohon, served as interpreter at both the Flathead and Blackfoot Councils. Later he was a trader and rancher in western Montana. Stevens, II, 92, 115, 117; Partoll, 287n.

⁶⁷ The Bitter Root Valley; Hoecken either errs in the name, though not in the description, or else simply wishes to designate that valley which is the home of Victor's Flatheads. Cp. Partoll, 300, where Stevens says: "not having agreed I say both go above Ft. Owen; that is the best place."

⁶⁸ But in the open council Peter was non-committal; Partoll, 297. Peter is Pierre Gauché or Gaucher or Left-Handed Peter, a "venerable old man" who would die within the next year or two years; cf. De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*. . . , New York, 1859, 316. He had been one of the twelve (D'Aste MS in OJH Arch.) or twenty-four, according to Bishop Rosati, (in Palladino, 29) Iroquois employees of the Hudson's Bay Company who had settled among the Flatheads. After twenty-three years with this tribe Peter accompanied Young Ignace on the third of the many Flathead attempts to secure a priest; both deputies spoke French, and received the sacrament of Confirmation at the old Cathedral of St. Louis; on this, and subsequent controversies see the fine summation of Garraghan, II, 236 ff. "Pierre Baptiste, the old Iroquois" is mentioned by Lieutenant Mullan; House Exec. Doc., 33rd Cong., 312, and by Doctor Suckley; *ibid.*, 278.

an old woman and a dog by the governor, or at least by his interpreter, leaves the council and retires to his tent. Chief Alexander calls the governor two-faced and a treacherous Blackfoot.⁶⁹ What an ending!

Victor wants the government to pass judgment on both sites, and he will then choose accordingly. If our place is judged better he will come here. Alexander and Michael have refused point-blank to go elsewhere. On that understanding, the Indians have signed the treaty.⁷⁰ Will they get something more? Who knows? The governor asked Alexander if he would like a flour-mill, a saw-mill, a farmer, a blacksmith, a school teacher? To each question he answered no, considering that they already possessed all these.⁷¹

Stevens suspects Hoecken

I had nothing to do with all this; never was religion spoken of by either side.⁷² However, the governor before leaving told me: "Father, your influence with the Indians is very strong. It is on account of you that the savages cling to their lands." He had already said the same to Chief Alexander: "You love your priests; that is why you won't give in." Alexander retorted: "I love my lands. I do not love the Fathers."⁷³ Years ago when the priests were at St. Mary's, I lived on my own lands."

Blackfoot treaty; conclusion

But more of this later, for I intend to follow Father Menetrey's suggestion and go down to St. Paul's Mission, there to make my Re-

⁶⁹ Partoll, 308, mentions Victor's departure but misses its significance. On the incident as reported in Partoll, see above, n. 48.

⁷⁰ I have filled out the abbreviation "gouv." here to mean not governor but government (i.e. federal): cf. parallel passage in Letter II. "The Indians," writes Hoecken to De Smet two years later, "appear . . . very reluctant to part with their lands; they will scarcely hear of the depositions to be taken"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1240. The next sentence of French text is somewhat obscure in the manuscript; I have reconstructed it as best I could.

⁷¹ The Partoll transcript does not include this. The refusal may not have been understood, or not recorded, or perhaps it was only part of Friday's angry interchange.

⁷² Hoecken must mean that he took no part in the discussions, since he did sign as witness. Religion was indeed spoken of by both sides, but Hoecken may refer either to the treaty itself or, more probably, to the deliberate segregation here by Stevens of moral, religious, and socio-religious affairs from the Indians' public affairs. Hoecken seems to say, therefore, that his cooperation was negative; the Indians made up their own minds, and he stood in the way of neither party.

⁷³ See below, n. 81. This is not in Partoll's text, but perhaps we may place it in the Wednesday session after Alexander and Stevens had reached their impasse, and before Hoecken was sent for. In this session Alexander had mentioned the mission establishment ("the priest") as one reason for clinging to his valley. He would probably then have had to deny to the suspicious Stevens any influence by Hoecken on his decision.

treat, unless some serious obstacle arises.⁷⁴ In a few days everyone will have gone off on their annual buffalo hunt in accordance with the peace treaty.⁷⁵ Only a few will be left here until autumn.

By the way; the governor wants the Coeur d'Alenes here, or else with the Chaudieres on a reservation among the Yakimas—Catholics with Catholics. The Protestant (as he conceives it) Spokanes he wishes to be with the Protestant Nez Perces.⁷⁶

Should your reverence not approve of this project, send your reply through the Coeur d'Alene Mission. From there, then, I shall be returning with goods which must have arrived there from the country below.⁷⁷

[unsigned]

⁷⁴ Père Joseph Menetrey (1812–1891) was superintendent of material needs under the mission superior Hoecken; on his life and work see Palladino, 179–180, and Bischoff, 277, a complete chronological sketch of his career. The “retreat” here referred to is probably the famed *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola. “[S]aint Paul, ou Colville, ou les Chaudières” appears on Joset’s 1849 sketch-map in the Jesuit Central Archives at Rome as thirteen days’ journey northwest of old St. Mary’s, six days from the Coeur d’Alene mission, and two days above the “old St. Ignatius”; Garraghan, II, 312–313.

⁷⁵ On the Blackfoot treaty and Hoecken’s role therein, see below n. 84. A total of 16,000 Indians were party to this agreement, misrepresented by Bancroft (*History of Montana*, 102) as a Nez Perce-Blackfoot affair. Details are in Stevens, II, 32–33. With the next sentence of our document I omit the major part of a page—details of the contemplated St. Paul’s trip (he will pass the Coeur d’Alene mission and return at the beginning of October).

⁷⁶ For the Coeur d’Alenes, an important Salish people centering on Lake Coeur d’Alene in modern north Idaho, see Hodge II, 594. The Chaudières or Shuyelpi (Skoyelpy) are a Salish group between Kettle Falls and the Spokane river; *ibid.*, I, 326–327. The Yakimas, a Shahaptian nation, would be leaders in the 1855 war; *ibid.*, II, 983–984 on location and history. The Shahaptian Nez Perces (*ibid.*, II, 65–67) were Protestant or pagan with a handful of notable exceptions until Cataldo’s evangelizing in the sixties; the Salish Spokanes (*ibid.*, II, 625), several different tribes along the Spokane River, would be Protestant in the main for some time to come, despite Hoecken’s qualifying “comme il dit”; MS: TS, H. T. Cowley reminiscences, University of Washington Archives, Seattle, Washington. In 1849, however, Hoecken wrote to the Jesuit General at Rome that in desires the Spokanes were divided, some wanting Catholic missionaries, others Protestant; Garraghan, II, 340 and n. Stevens wrote in his report on the 1853 explorations: “Nearly all the Indians east of the Cascades are sincere Christians, mostly Catholics; but the Spokanes and a part of the Nez Perces are Protestants.” *Railroad Reports*, vol. I, part 2, 147. “The only missions now among the eastern tribes are those of the Jesuits and Oblat[e]s”; *ibid.*, 422. In the French text, if the “ou” be “un” a variant translation must of course be supplied.

⁷⁷ From Fort Vancouver, or the Hudson’s Bay Post Walla Walla, soon after destroyed by war. Goods could also be gotten at the Hudson’s Bay Company Fort Colville, or from far-away Fort Benton on the Missouri. Coeur d’Alene Mission (the old site, near modern Cataldo, Idaho) was six days’ semi-desert hardship from Fort Walla Walla, and seven added days

II

January 10, 1856

Reverend and Dear Father Superior.⁷⁸

One of the greatest privations I sustain here, is to be exiled so terribly far from a Father Superior. Of his kind support I feel almost continual need.

In answer to your request, and to discover what you wish us to do (and at the same time for my own spiritual solace) I begin this letter. When I shall be able to have it effectively delivered, God alone knows.⁷⁹

Summons to the Council

Several days after you left us, Mr. Adams who is a sort of agent for these Indians came here to invite us all to a council at which, on July the fourth, a treaty was to be drawn up between Governor Stevens and the Pend d'Oreilles, Kutenais, and Flatheads. I set out with Brother Magean. The governor was not there. Annoyed, we waited for him over the fifth of July and on the sixth went back home, for time was too precious to waste.

On the tenth Adams sent a note saying that the governor desires to see me. Five or six children, however, were dangerously ill of some kind of cholera. I kept a horse in readiness for two nights to go to see the governor should the children improve. But then I received a letter (which I enclose) from the governor. I went to him on the morrow. He received me, outwardly at least, with all kindness. But I do not understand why he summoned me; the treaty was none of my affair.

from Fort Vancouver. The antecedent for the French "plan" in our preceding sentence may be the reservation for the Catholic Indians, but probably is the projected trip and retreat.

⁷⁸ Nicholas Congiato (1816-1897) was a Sardinian Jesuit of exceptional administrative talent. Fleeing Italy during the 1848 troubles he completed his sacerdotal studies at Bardstown, Kentucky, where he became rector of St. Joseph's College. From 1854 to 1858 he was superior general of the California and Rocky Mountain missions, and after 1858 of the latter mission alone for three years. He is noted for his peace services in the 1858 Coeur d'Alene war, and as the founder of the Jesuit house of studies at Los Gatos, California. At the time of this letter he had just completed a three-month visitation of the mission, leaving St. Ignatius as Stevens approached.

⁷⁹ The letter would be sent to the Santa Clara valley in California. Six years earlier Joset had complained to the Jesuit General at Rome that: "From Superiors . . . we hardly get an answer in eighteen months. Even with resident members of the Mission, correspondence is very slow." Even between St. Mary's and St. Ignatius delivery of letters was had only "three or four times a year." Garraghan, II, 359.

Hoecken and the double-reserve plan

None of the Indians would hear of *selling* their lands. Finally Governor Stevens suggested two reservations, one extending from Lolo fork to a spot some miles above our abandoned St. Mary's Mission, the other running from here on up to the lake higher in the north. The business was all but over; the reserve would have been given them, even though the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenais rejected it. Perhaps the governor hoped I would side with him, but that would have been against my conscience, convinced as I was that the designated area was unsuitable for the Flatheads and especially for the Kalispels. Dear God! It would have meant the end of Mission St. Ignatius!

Victor's solution

Finally, the "insignificant" Victor, who had been mocked as a woman and a dog the day before (and who is called the head chief of the Flathead Confederacy) moved that the two reserves be examined by the President of the United States;⁸⁰ and he promised to follow the president's judgment in making his own choice. Alexander, chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, and Michael, chief of the Kutenais, absolutely refused to accept any reserve other than that proposed on their own lands, even should the president decide that the other was better. One day the governor told them: "It is because you have priests that you cling to your land." Alexander answered him: "No, I do not love the priests (a *mendacium officiosum*)⁸¹ but I do love my lands." The treaty was concluded upon that condition: the two reservations were to be investigated by the president. However, the governor has since conceded to Father Ravalli⁸² that St. Ignatius Mission is on the reservation. Before

⁸⁰ Franklin Pierce, fourteenth president. This passage (in Latin) offers some difficulty to a translator; an example of asyndeton, confused further by use of the historical present, it is susceptible of another interpretation: "Then the 'unimportant' Victor (who was called a woman and a dog only yesterday *but is* now conceded by Stevens to be master of the confederacy), mollified, proposes that the two reserves be examined . . ." Cf. Partoll, above, n. 48.

⁸¹ L. for "officious lie." In moral theology lies may be classified as malicious, jocose, or officious. The last is one "of necessary or excuse . . . told for one's own or another's advantage"; in itself and pre-scinding from qualifying circumstances its guilt is considered rather venial than grave.

⁸² A significant admission by Stevens, nullifying from the start article XI of the treaty. Anthony Ravalli, S.J., (1812-1884) was an Italian priest then among the Coeur d'Alenes. Of artistic, medical, and mechanical talents, he is remembered as a pioneer doctor, builder of the famed "church built without nails" for the Coeur d'Alenes, and peace maker in the 1855 war. Ravalli County in Montana is named for him. Ravalli Papers in OJH Arch.; Bischoff, 230-231.

leaving, the governor told me again: "Father, it is only because the Indians are attached to you, and because your influence over them is strong, that they do not want to come onto the Flathead reservation."

Domestic affairs; conclusion

On my return here we began to put up a barn on the flat behind the temporary church. Father Menetrey is back with the decrees agreed upon during the consultation. Thanks be to God, I try to comply with them. Had I been at the consultation, I would have suggested things which others would not have liked; they would have said that I seemed to have here, without reason, more than they; and they would have called attention to their own needs. Ah, well! Let us forget it!⁸³ God watches over even the tiny birds. On August sixteenth I left here for Colville to make the Long Retreat which I need so much⁸⁴

I fear the proximity of the White settlers,⁸⁵ for our neo-Christians. Oh, if the governor only had confidence in our Society and

⁸³ Latin; lit. "let it pass by."

⁸⁴ I have here omitted, as having no direct bearing on the Flathead treaty some domestic affairs and a very valuable discussion of Hoecken's part in the Blackfoot treaty. It fills some 25 pages of our little diary with minute and closely-written script. Beginning with a request from Stevens for Jesuit assistance at the "*consile et traité de Pied noir*," it tells how Hoecken follows Joset's counsel, setting out first for St. Ignatius and thence, on October third, with Father Croke and two savages, for the vague general destination assigned. A fatiguing and difficult journey ensued, with a shock at their entrance into prairie country as they met a large band of braves who turned out to be friendly Kutenais coming back from a successful hunt. Then over a "belle" prairie, across the mountains, and "*nous voilà dans le pays Pied noir*," where Hoecken received a musket-salvo salute from "*Alexandre cum suis . . . Deo Gratias*." Important details of the council are here given; other notes on the 1855 councils may be gathered *huc illuc* elsewhere in the diary. Registering approval of the government encouragement "*a la culture des terres*" Hoecken began the difficult return trip. In this passage Hoecken also mentions a large group of Mormons near St. Mary's Mission. We also have a journal of Hoecken's eight day trip (from Coeur d'Alene Mission?) beginning August 16, 1855. There is a letter in Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1276-77, from Hoecken to De Smet from the council grounds. A Hoecken letter of 1857, *ibid.*, 1248, indicates that all is not well at least on the tomahawk front: five Spokanes killed by Bannocks, six of the latter killed by Spokanes and Coeur d'Alenes, one Flathead killed by Bannocks and one by Gros Ventres; the Blackfeet are more amiable, but the Spokanes and Nez Perces are trying to stir up trouble.

⁸⁵ Besides the Hudson's Bay Company settlers (some Indians, Canadians, and miners) at distant Colville, there were "a few Americans, settled a few miles from here"; Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1247. A U. S. Fort Colville, established in the sixties, replaced the Colville here mentioned which was abandoned after 1871. On the Whites who subsequently did move in, see the list of Bancroft, 626-627.

wanted the proper means. Then the terms of the treaty could be carried out dutifully.⁸⁶

The Coadjutor Brothers send their greetings, as does Mr. Croke. Give my regards to Fathers Nobili, Devos, Mengarini, and to any I may not know personally.⁸⁷

ADRIAN HOECKEN, S.J.

⁸⁶ "Society" in the MS text, is the French "compagnie [de Jésus]," latinized "Societas"; the French retains the original military flavor. Hoecken writes to De Smet early in 1857: "Here in our missions, we already observe all the conditions stipulated in the treaty concluded last year by Governor Stevens, at Hellgate. Our brothers assist the Indians. . . Last year we opened our school, but circumstances forced us to close it. Next spring . . . we intend opening a second time." Despite lack of subsidies, the Jesuits continued at government request to supply gratis at least a shadow of substance to the grandiose treaty promises of assistance. Chittenden-Richardson, IV, 1245-46; Bischoff, 73; Palladino, 96.

⁸⁷ The Reverend James Croke, travelling companion with Hoecken to the Blackfoot council, was in 1855 "a travelling missionary of the Diocese of Oregon" who later became vicar-general of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. John Nobili, S.J., was founder and first president of Santa Clara College (now University) in California, whither he had been sent with Father Accolti during the gold-rush of 1849. Five previous years of Indian missionary labor in the Rocky Mountain Mission had not improved his ill-health and he died, a noted public figure, in 1856. Peter De Vos, S.J., (1797-1859) had been Hoecken's novice-master in Missouri, his companion over the Plains in 1843, and his fellow missionary on the Rocky Mountain Mission. His more distinguished converts included Doctor J. E. Long, secretary of the provisional government of Oregon, and Peter H. Burnett, first chief-justice of Oregon and first governor of California. Gregory Mengarini, S.J., (1811-1866) a Rocky Mountain missionary from 1841 to 1852, was at this time in California, where he later served as treasurer of Santa Clara College for thirty years.

Belmont's History of Canada

Introduction

To fulfill the promise made in the introduction to "Belmont's History of Brandy," published in translation in the January number of MID-AMERICA, the following pages are devoted to the translation of "Histoire du Canada, par M. l'Abbé de Belmont." The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which originally published these two manuscripts of Belmont, has graciously consented to the translations. It seems that sufficient data on the author, his work, and the French publication of 1840 in the *Collection de Mémoires et de Relations sur l'Histoire Ancienne du Canada*, has been given in the preceding introduction.

The editing poses several problems. The historical account covering the period from 1608 to 1664 runs for twelve pages. There is then a gap in the story from 1665 to 1680 when the Iroquois War is described in detail. Throughout dates appear in the printed line and in the margins. These marginal dates it seems advisable to drop, except where they are not given in the line. Where they do not appear in the line and where they amplify a given date, they will be given in the text in parenthesis. The spelling, it is felt, should be maintained as printed, with notes or brackets to indicate the more correct forms. In view of the vast amount of research that has been done in Canada on each of the people and places mentioned and in view of the rather common knowledge of many events and dates it seems unnecessary to run a long list of footnotes of a critical and bibliographical nature. Since the work is a chronicle rather than a history Belmont constantly uses the present tense. To avoid confusion it has appeared best to use the past tense uniformly in the translation. A minimum of liberty has been taken in converting the ideas expressed in the old French, sometimes cryptically, into the modern English equivalent.

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HISTORY OF CANADA

by the

Abbé Belmont

In the year 1608 M. Champlain founded the City of Quebec, and made an alliance with the Algonquins who lived there. He led them in war against the Agniers [Mohawks] on the River of Richelieu: he defeated these on Lake Champlain because of his musketeers.

Over a period of twenty years he discovered the Hurons, Athistaréronons, Neutres, etc.; he returned to France a number of times; he was in the position of Lieutenant of the King under MM. de Soissons, Montmorency, and Ventadour. He brought over the Recollects in 1615; then the Jesuits were founded in 1625 by a man who, on entering the Company, gave 16,000 *écus*.¹

Quebec was besieged in 1629 by three English ships, and it capitulated after waiting a whole year for help; and according to the terms of the capitulation it surrendered. Two years later, that is in 1632, it was given back, with the agreement that the land would belong to the French from . . . meridan, to . . . In 1640 the Dutch established themselves on the Orange River, called Ohioye, giving some arms to the Iroquois.² The Fathers Lanoue, Le Jeune, Lemoine, Brébeuf, Lallemand and Buteux were among the Hurons and composed a Huron grammar.³

M. de la Doversière, Treasurer at La Flèche, a man of great sanctity, had a vision of the Isle of Montreal, accompanied by an urge (1636-1640) to establish a colony there; he consulted Father la Chaise who approved of this project; he talked to M. le Baron de Fancamp and entered into an agreement with him.⁴ M. de la Doversière went to Paris about the project, met M. Olier in the Luxembourg, who embraced him and, on hearing his plan, encour-

¹ This was René Rohault, son of the Marquis de Gamaches, who on entering the Company or Society of Jesus in 1625 donated a large portion of his patrimony for the establishment of a Jesuit college in Quebec.

² The date is wrong for any permanent establishment which the Dutch made on the Hudson, Delaware and Connecticut Rivers.

³ Of the Jesuit Fathers mentioned here, Lanoue is given variously as La Noue, De Noüe, Noue, instead of Le Noue; Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lallemand, and Jacques Buteau, are famed as martyrs; Simon le Moyne has had le Moyne College of Syracuse, New York, named after him. Le-jeune was rector at the Quebec college.

⁴ Jérôme le Royer de la Dauversière, founder of the City of Montreal; Pierre Chevier was Baron de Fancamp; Father François de la Chaise, the king's confessor.

aged him; M. Olier gave a hundred *louis d'or*, and was joined with them; he went to negotiate with M. de Lauson, who owned the island, accompanied by Father Lallemant.⁵ A contract was drawn up in Vienna between M. Lauson and the Company of Montreal. On his return, M. de la Doversière stopped at an inn where he met a gentleman from Champagne named M. de Maisonneuve who had been involved in the war with Holland. On hearing of the proposed organization for Montreal, the latter offered himself to Father Lallemant, who sent him to M. de la Doversière.

All the Dukes, Princes and the whole court procured or gave the privileges of independence to the governor, etc. The first expedition, outfitted at the cost of 75,000 francs, consisted of forty-five men. Mademoiselle Manse, a native of Langre, who heard someone speaking enthusiastically to a canon about Madame de la Peltrie, who was responsible for bringing the Ursulines to Canada, and of the Hospitalieres founded by Madame D'Aiguillon, felt a desire to go to Canada.⁶ Going to Paris, she consulted Fathers Lallemant and Le Jeune who, on her second visit, approved of her vocation which also gained the approbation of Father Rapin, Provincial of the Récollets.

Madame de Villevoisin, [Villersavin] and Madame de Bullion offered her the directorship of a hospital for which they contributed 22,000 lbs. She set out for La Rochelle where she became acquainted with MM. de la Doversière and Fancamp through Father la Place. She set sail separately from M. de Maisonneuve, who turned back to port three times and lost his physician.

Mademoiselle Manse arrived first. The people at Quebec were very surprised at M. Maisonneuve's status of independence. They wanted to deter Mademoiselle Manse. Arriving at Tadoussac, M. de Maisonneuve found M. Carron, Admiral of the Canadian Fleet, who gave him a physician. M. de Montmagny, lieutenant of the King, wanted to deter M. de Maisonneuve from going to Montreal, and offered him the Island of Orleans. M. de Maisonneuve de-

⁵ Jean-Jacques Olier was founder of the Society of Saint-Sulpice; Jean de Lauson was later Governor of Canada; Lallemant is Charles Lallemant, the Jesuit who later served in Canada, brother of another Jesuit, Jérôme Lallemant, who with his nephew, St. Gabriel Lallemant, was already in Canada.

⁶ The name of Canada's early heroine, Jeanne Mance, is spelled Manse by Belmont. Madame de La Peltrie, before her entrance in the Ursulines, was Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny. Madame the Duchess D'Aiguillon was Marie Madeleine de Wiguerod, Duchess d'Apollon, niece of Richelieu. Madame de Bullion (below) was Angélique Faure, wife of the secretary of finance, Claude de Bullion.

clared that he had not come to deliberate, and that even though all the trees were changed to Iroquois he would still fulfill his commission. M. de Montmagny changed his mind and accompanied him to Montreal in the month of October.

(1641) When M. de Maisonneuve returned, M. [Pierre] de Puiseaux, an old man, contributed his beautiful home and joined the company. He built a barge and two barques with which he sailed on May 8. M. de Montmagny came to Montreal and there the first Mass was celebrated on May 19, 1641. A point of land made by the confluence of a little creek with the river, opposite an island, was selected as the site on which to build a fort. They were employed for a whole year at this task without once being seen by the Iroquois.⁷

It was rumored that the Company of Montreal was made up of persons of quality: MM. de Liancourt, Barreau, Marguerie, Gofreventy, Morangis, Chodebonne, Plessis, Mombart, St. Frémin, Orval, Drouart, Le Prestre, M. de Bretonvilliers, de Kélus, Madame la Princesse, la Chancellière, Villeclavin, and above all Madame de Bullion.⁸

On March 19, (1642) the framework was up and the cannon were mounted. They brought twelve men among whom was M. Minime, the carpenter.

In 1643, M. de Maisonneuve was in France and Mademoiselle Manse consented to use the 22,000 lbs. on deposit through the generosity of Madame de Bullion, to hire a hundred men who could clear a hundred arpents of land which would be paid for with the 22,000 lbs., and would save the country and the hospital. This was done.

Ten Algonquins, having killed an Iroquois in their country, were pursued among the river until they came to the fort. The Iroquois, who were as yet unaware of the post, thus came to know of it.

In the month of June, 1643, the Hurons, coming to trade and finding the Iroquois at Lachine, told them about our post and our

⁷ For these early days see E.-Z. Massicotte, "Les colons de Montréal," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series III, Vol. VII (1914), 3-65; Ralph Flenley, ed., *A History of Montreal, 1640-1673, from the French of Dollier de Casson*, London and Toronto, 1928, 107, reveals that the Iroquois were quite aware of what was going on.

⁸ Belmont's list of names of members of the Company, or Association, of Montreal may be compared with that in *Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal Rédigées par la soeur Morin*, Collationnées et annotées par MM. AE Fauteux, E.-Z. Massicotte, C. Bertrand, Vol. XII of the *Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal*, Montréal, 1921, 41-44, or in Camille Bertrand, *Histoire de Montreal*, Vol. I, Montreal and Paris, 1935, 22-24.

number. Forty Iroquois came up and surprised six men cutting wood in the forest. They killed two and took the others captive. The next day the Hurons were themselves cut to pieces; for of their number only thirty escaped and were rescued in the fort. The Iroquois went over to la Prairie de Madeleine and were unable to transport all the peltry. One of the French escaped and went to repossess the abandoned pelts and crossed the river in a wretched canoe.

In 1645 M. Daillebout,⁹ a gentleman from Champagne, his wife and sister-in-law, came to live here. The King, Louis XIII, gave the Company a ship of 250 tons, some canon, etc. Madame de Bullion gave Mlle. Manse 2,000 lbs. for running the hospital, 12,000 lbs. for building, 2,000 lbs. to Mlle. Manse for alms, all of which was placed in the hands of the procurator of the Company. M. de Puiseaux regretted his donation; hence it was restored to him. Madame de la Peltrie went down to Quebec. M. de Maisonneuve with thirty men had a skirmish with the Iroquois. He effected an orderly retreat, making his whole company go ahead of him. Remaining alone, he fought the chief of the Iroquois and killed him with a pistol shot. When one of his pistols missed fire, the body of the dead Iroquois distracted the Iroquois and gave him a chance to escape. The incident happened in the snows above the home of La Vigne.

In 1646 Madame de Bullion sent 2,000 lbs., three chapels. M. de la Barre, a famous hypocrite, brought out sixty men.¹⁰ They built the hospital. An Iroquois mounted a tree at the foot of which the French had, by mere chance, placed a guard. A patched-up peace was made. A fort of stakes was built. The poles were twelve feet [high] and there were four bastions.

M. de Maisonneuve returned to France because of the death of his father. Madame Bullion gave the Company 20,000 lbs. and sent 2,000 lbs. to Mlle. Manse. M. Daillebout remained as commandant in 1646. M. Lemoine, who had served the fathers was sent to live here as an interpreter.¹¹ He came from France in 1641.

⁹ M. Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge arrived in Villemarie in 1643 as one of the proprietors of Montreal and was Governor of Canada from 1648 to 1651. It is not certain if this mistake is Belmont's or the printer's.

¹⁰ This M. de la Barre, not to be confused with Governor La Barre, was condemned for libertinism and left Montreal after a year.

¹¹ Charles Le Moyne, Seigneur de Longueuil, was brought to New France as a child of thirteen. He was with the Jesuits in their missions for four years and because of his knowledge of the Indian tongues he was made the official interpreter at Montreal. Louis XIV raised him to the

In 1647, M. de Maisonneuve returned, having found his brother-in-law murdered and his mother remarried. The war broke out again. The Iroquois burned Richelieu, killing the Algonquins and the Hurons who wished to betray the French by attracting them to leave the fort.

M. de Maisonneuve could have been the governor of Canada, but he arranged to have the office conferred on M. Daillebout and made him take another trip to France.

In 1648, the Iroquois pillaged the Huron country, making Iroquois of the inhabitants and increasing their own number. They came to Montreal with their thousand treacheries, demanding to discuss peace. Lemoine and Normanville went out to meet them. They seized Normanville; but Lemoine drew a bead on two Iroquois who were near him and caused Normanville to be released. A mill and a fort were erected. They killed only one man, wounded many.¹²

M. Daillebout came as governor. M. Gofré [Gauffre] bequeathed 80,000 lbs. for the establishment of a bishopric. This was lost because the affair was not followed up promptly. The garrison was augmented by six soldiers, and the treasury of 3,000 lbs. was increased by a thousand francs. It was the great Company of the Indies that did away with the Company of Montreal.¹³

In 1649, M. Daillebout sent a flying squadron of forty men under command of his nephew, M. Demousseau.¹⁴ Father Rapin died. M. de la Doversière, who had charge of all the funds which Madame de Bullion had given the hospital, went bankrupt. The Company was dissolved. Mlle. Manse, hearing the news, went to France in 1650 to report to Madame de Bullion. The Hurons were completely wiped out. Fathers Lallemand and Brébeuf were burned.¹⁵ All the Iroquois went over to the French. Of 3,500

nobility in 1668. His eight sons and three daughters are notables in Canadian history and two sons especially, Iberville and Bienville, became prominent in United States colonial history.

¹² For details of this incident see Flenley, *History of Montreal*, 141.

¹³ Though it is correct to say that the Company of the Indies dissolved all previous monopolistic companies in New France, it can hardly be said that the Company of Montreal was dissolved by this New organization. The associates of the Company of Montreal dissolved themselves by giving the Island of Montreal and all its rights to the Society of Saint Sulpice.

¹⁴ Charles d'Ailleboust, Sieur de Musseaux.

¹⁵ The list of Jesuit martyrs, of whom Belmont mentions two, is: René Goupil, Sept. 29, 1642; Isaac Jogues, Oct. 18, 1646; John de la Lande, Oct. 19, 1646; Anthony Daniel, July 4, 1648; John de Brébeuf, March 16, 1649; Gabriel Lallemand, March 17, 1649; Charles Garnier, Dec. 7, 1649; René Chabanel, Dec. 8, 1649; James Buteux, May 10, 1652; John Liégeois, May 5, 1655; Léon Garreau, Aug. 30, 1656; René Menard, Aug. 10, 1661; cf. *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu*, Louvain, 1950.

only 600 were left here and 500 others wandered in different groups towards Lake Superior, constantly pursued. They finally settled among the Kikapous. Mlle. Manse brought about a reunion of the Gentlemen of the Company by an act in the Chastelet. M. Ollier was named Director.

Chicot, M. Boudart and his wife were attacked by ten Iroquois. Boudart escaped, but hearing the cries of his wife, lost his life in an effort to save her. M. Lemoine, Archambault and another, going to their aid, were surrounded by forty Iroquois and their effort to drive them off was ineffectual. They took refuge in the hospital, whose doors were open with only Mlle. Manse within. It assuredly would have been burned were it not for the flight of the men into it. Chicot hid; they found him and tried to drag him away, but he defended himself so bravely that they left him scalped. They cruelly burned the woman.¹⁶

Four French were attacked on June 18. Throwing themselves into a pitiful little redoubt on St. Charles Point, they began to fire. One named La Vigne, who was close by, hearing the noise and daring the enemy fire, crossed the thickets. The combat broke out again; M. Lemoine rushed there and the enemy lost thirty men. Some of the rest were wounded. Two of our men were wounded.

In 1652, M. de Lauson became Governor replacing M. Daillebout. He prosecuted Lemoine and deducted 1,000 livres from M. Maisonneuve's income, which the Company had voted to him. For this the Governor was punished, for that very year the Iroquois seized the rest of the Huron exiles at the Island of Orleans killing the oldest and some of the other [members of] Sieur de Lauson's family. All of this was in full view of Quebec. Montreal remained in grave danger. Mlle. Manse and M. de Maisonneuve agreed that he should return to France and draw out the 22,000 lbs., which Madame de Bullion had donated for aid, on condition that half the expenses of the hospital would be borne by the Siegneury, although the Siegneury was not worth that sum. This was planned in order to save the hospital and the country. Madame de Bullion approved this contract and gave 2,000 lbs. more. M. de Maisonneuve left M. de Mousseau in his place.

On October 14, 1653, the barking of dogs announced the approach of the enemy. M. Closse, a Major, was in command with

¹⁶ See Flenley, *History of Montreal*, 155-175, for details of this and the following incidents.

twenty-four men. He sent Bostom and Lagachetière. This last was killed, but in falling killed his enemy. The other saved himself in a little earthen hut. M. Closse, surrounded by 200 Iroquois, cut across their fire and forced his way to the hut with his twenty-four men. M. Closse's powder ran out. Bostom, at a favorable moment of fire from our men, issued from the hut, passed through the lines of the besieging enemy and went to the chateau. Returning with ten men and two field pieces, which he brought up on a little raft, he discharged his two pieces suddenly. M. Closse made a sortie and enabled those in the hut to join him. The Iroquois lost twenty men and more than fifty had their arms and legs maimed.

M. de Lauson, against his will, sent ten men without arms or provisions, of whom one was M. de St. Ange. The good woman, Parmanda, defended herself valiantly. She was thrice struck with a tomahawk, and she struck a Frenchman. M. de Plessis was killed with fifteen men.¹⁷ He was Governor of Three Rivers and had just acted as bodyguard for Mlle. Manse.

M. de Maisonneuve remained in France. M. de Lauson sent a barque which was afraid that the chateau had surrendered and returned without doing anything.

Three Rivers was blockaded. Mlle. Manse, being at Quebec, found that M. de Maisonneuve was coming with 150 men. Father Poncet was captured near Quebec. He left a note at the place where he was captured making known the fact that Three Rivers was invested. Some Frenchmen, wishing to go and help him, being unable to find him, went to Three Rivers and managed to get inside the place under cover of darkness. While Three Rivers was blockaded, the Hurons at Montreal discovered a party of Iroquois. Announcing this to the French, they made up two parties, besieging the Iroquois both front and rear, and captured a few of their chief captains. The captain of the Hurons, named Kanontaga, went down to Three Rivers and informed the Iroquois of the seizure of their people. The Iroquois were informed that their captains would be set free if the siege of Three Rivers was lifted and peace made. The Iroquois consented to this. Kanontaga himself was almost captured at Lake St. Pierre.

In 1653, Sister Bourgeois arrived.¹⁸ She was from Troyes, aged thirty-five, Prefect of the Congregation. M. de St. André raised

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹⁸ Marguerite Bourgeois, Foundress of the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame.

a levy of 105 men at Poitou, Maine and Bretagne whose salary M. de Maisonneuve paid from the 22,000 lbs. donated by Madame de Bullion. M. de Lauson, very envious, refused permission for the 105 men to go to Montreal.

A group of French posted a sentinel on a stump while they were working. He allowed himself to be seized by the legs. [1653]. The Major sounded the call to arms. One of the Iroquois, named Barrique, who was in command of the band, presented himself. He was fired on with bird shot. He fell and was taken alive. His brother a few months later made four attacks on Montreal, but Barrique called to him from the walls and obliged him to promise to make peace.

The Iroquois sacked the Isle aux Oyes which is a dozen leagues from Quebec. They killed all the members of the families of Moyer and Macart, seizing the children, of whom one was Mlle. Dugué. They came back to Montreal and made some attacks. La Barrique wanted to parley. The aforementioned Iroquois first killed a man named Daubigeon, then wished to parley. M. Lemoine had just escorted a Iroquois envoy who had told of the sacking of the Isle aux Oyes. Plans were made to surprise those come to parley. M. Lemoine captured them alone, going to them armed only with his pistols. The captain of the troop of Iroquois who offered to parley was named La Plume. He came the next day to rescue his people and was himself seized by M. Lemoine with four Indian companions.

The Agniers, under the leadership of an Indian named La Grande Armée, came to attack Montreal. Learning of the capture of the six Iroquois chiefs he made peace by which Trottier, St. Michel, Le Moyne and La Treille were returned.

Mlle. Moyer married M. Dugué; Mlle. Maur, M. de Grandville.

Peace lasted all that year (1656), and the colony advanced. However, the Iroquois killed a band of Hurons at the end of the Island. Among them was Father Gareau, who came to Montreal to die and was buried there.¹⁹

M. de Maisonneuve went to France (1657) to obtain ecclesiastics from M. Olier, Director and First Associate of the Company. The Jesuits had many times told him that without a foundation they could not come there, save by endangering the missions. Mlle. Manse fell and broke her arm.

M. Olier chose M. l'Abbé de Kélus, M. Souard, M. Gallinier

¹⁹ Leon Garreau, see note 15, above.

and M. Dalet who departed in Lent.²⁰ M. Olier died at Easter time while the gentlemen were already at Nantes.

Father [Jean] de Quen, Superior of the Jesuits, and M. Daillebout as came ahead of them to the Island of Orleans. M. d'Argenson was named Governor. He did not come out until the following year. That year, M. de Charny commanded in place of his father, M. de Lauson; and in his absence M. Daillebout acted as Governor. At this time Canada was under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen. M. de Kélus had letters making him Vicar-General. He exercised that function at Quebec.

(1658) The Iroquois began war on October 27, 1657, by killing a carpenter named Nicholas Gode, who was roofing a house, and his son-in-law, Jean St. Pair. It is said that the severed head spoke. Mlle. Manse, having broken her arm and the injury becoming consistently worse, asked permission of M. de Kélus to go to Madame de Bullion and bring over some Religious from La Flèche. M. de Kélus told M. Souard that one of the Hospitalières of Quebec needed a change and to bring her hither. She came with her companion, Mlle. Manse. M. de Maisonneuve, knowing nothing about the affair, took exception to it because M. Ollier had made a contract with the Hospitalières of la Flèche.²¹

Mlle. Manse departed, going to La Flèche. 1659 M. de la Doversière, hearing that there already were Religious at Montreal, judged rashly that the coming of others would be opposed by those already present, and that those present would come to make a report and retire. On this he was enlightened. Mlle. Manse went to Paris and arranged for a foundation of the Hospitalières of La Flèche. She recovered her health miraculously at the tomb of M. Ollier. By a second miracle, she was no whit hurt when her horse threw her, eight leagues from La Rochelle, on the very arm which had been so badly dislocated.

Sister Marguerite Bourgeois, who had accompanied Mlle. Manse on this voyage, recruited thirty-two girls for Montreal besides three Religious of La Flèche. These were Sisters Brussolle, Masse and Moillac. Monsieigneur, the Bishop of Angers refused his consent. M. de la Doversière was very ill and the people of Angers were up

²⁰ These Sulpicians brought by Maisonneuve were the Abbés Gabriel de Queylus, Superior, Gabriel Souart, Dominique Galinier, and, as yet unordained, Antoine d'Allet. These founders of the Seminaire de Saint-Sulpice heard of the death of Olier just before sailing from France in 1657.

²¹ Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph, established by M. de La Dauversière.

in arms. MM. Vigne and Lamaitre came also. But the day before their departure they found that they had bought so much goods that they had not to pay the freight charges. The 110 persons who were ready to leave saw themselves about to be detained. But the captain trusted their promises.

The ship had served as hospital-ship for the navy forces. Ten people died of the plague. The Religious exposed themselves [in caring for the plague stricken]. Two Huguenots were converted on their death beds.

M. l'Abbé de Kêlus received instructions to return to France. These were handed him at Montreal by the Commandant and a guard of soldiers. M. de Bellestre will come this year.

That year twenty-two men were killed and eight died. On May 21, 1660, when seventeen Frenchmen were going out they were attacked by 800 Iroquois. A man named Daulac induced the seventeen French to attack the Iroquois.²² At the foot of the Long Sault he found a wretched fort of pilings which was sheltered by a hill. He took refuge inside it. Onontaga, a Huron who had challenged the courage of an Algonquin at Three Rivers, came to Montreal. He was told where the French were, and he demanded to go and help the French.

They first seized two canoes. Some of the Iroquois going to cut off three hundred warriors who wished to aid the besieged fort were repulsed and have lost many peoples. They sent a few men to ask a reinforcement of 500 men coming from Richelieu to go down to relieve Quebec. The Iroquois shouted to the Hurons to save themselves by surrendering. The cowards surrendered, except Onontaga and four Algonquins, and told the Iroquois that the French numbered no more than seventeen. The reinforcement of 500 finally arrived. The Iroquois in number of 600 assaulted the fort for three days, cutting down the trees.

Daulac conceived the idea of loading a musket with powder to its very muzzle, planning to hurl it as a grenade. But a branch caused it to fall back into the fort. According to Taondechoren, the enemy lost a third of their number. The seventeen French were killed, except four, of whom three finally died and the fourth was burned. The enemy, astounded at such resistance, and finally with-

²² Adam Dollard des Ormeaux, aged twenty-five, is given credit for this first offensive move against the Iroquois; Bertrand, *Histoire de Montreal*, I, 71-75; Bertrand calls this battle of the Long-Sault "the grandest feat of arms in the history of Canada," because it saved Canada; he thus concurs with Belmont.

drew. Without this brave stand against the Iroquois all would have been lost. M. Daillebout died at Quebec, and M. de la Doversière in France.

In the month of February, 1661, the Iroquois seized (by surprise) thirteen people; in March, six; and of these four were killed. In February, our people worked without weapons at hand. Mlle. Duclos hurried to M. Lemoine with loaded guns and prevented great evil, for the Iroquois who numbered 250, fled.²³ A man named Baudoin and another named Lachapelle were captured. M. Lemaitre, a priest of the Seminary was killed on the day of the Beheading of St. John at St. Gabriel by Outréouhati Onnontagué. As he was reciting his breviary he saw the Iroquois coming to attack our people. In order to gain time he thrust himself between two of the Savages with a sword. His image was imprinted in blood on his handkerchief.

In 1662, about the time of M. Lemaître's death, M. L'Abbé de Kélus came back to Canada incognito, from Rome. He was obliged to return to France. On October 25, 1661, M. Vignal was killed on the Island at the Rock where after calling to him the Iroquois raised a cry. The French leaped into canoes, except M. Brysat who was seized, having killed a captain of the natives and broken his own arm. M. Vignal was wounded, MM. Moyen and Duchesne were killed, and M. René captured. M. Vignal, already seriously wounded, was cooked and eaten. René and Brysat were taken to the Onneyouth [Oneida] where, after Brysat had recovered, he was horribly burned. On February 17, 1662, M. Closse, Major of the fort, was killed, with three others men, abandoned by his servant, a Flemming. On May 6, at Ste Marie, Roulier, Trudeau, Langevin and a soldier beat off fifty Iroquois. Placing themselves behind a breastwork, they were rescued by M. de Bellestre. On an other occasion at Ste. Marie, eleven Iroquois were captured.

(1663) Mlle. Manse went to France to see about the 22,000 lbs. which Madame de Bullion had given to M. de la Doversière for founding a hospital, more than half of which sum had been lost. She remained in France for two years.

The Company [of Montreal] gave this Island and the Siegneury to the Messieurs of St. Sulpice. It was thought desirable to remove from them the exercise of justice. The Iroquois killed two men on the Island of Ste. Theresa, returning from the woods by canoe,

²³ This was the wife, not the daughter of Duclos as the Mlle might indicate.

loaded with meat. M. de Ballestre rescued the rest of the group. Two Frenchmen were killed at the very gates of Montreal, going in a canoe from shore to shore. An Iroquois was killed.

Memorial of the War Against the Iroquois

It is useful and agreeable to preserve a memoir of past hardships. This was the motive which urged me, at the end of 1698, which year will probably see the war come to an end, to record in simple and brief style the history of the late war which we was waged against the Iroquois.

(1680) It has been eight years since M. le Comte de Frontenac, was Governor of Canada, where he ordered the building of Fort Frontenac by M. de la Salle at the entrance of Lake Ontario. All those years were passed in profound peace with the Iroquois and the Dutch. The most important events in the country during those years were three or four domestic disputes. The first was concerned with traffic in liquor to the Indians. In this M. the Bishop, the Jesuit Fathers and the Clergy, supported by M. Talon, the Intendent, were one party; while the other party included M. de Frontenac, M. de la Salle, the Company and the Recollect Fathers. The Bishop made this brandy traffic a reserved sin. The second problem was between M. de Frontenac and M. Perrot,²⁴ supported by M. Desenclos, on the subject of M. Bizar, lieutenant of M. de Frontenac's guards, whom M. Perrot, by a clever trick, held in prison for a year. This problem was sent to court of justice. The third was between M. Talon and M. Frontenac concerning the presidency of the Council. Finally, the fourth problem was some small opposition of the Justice of Montreal who wished to be free from the jurisdiction of the Seminary.

The Reverend Jesuit Fathers Bruyas, Vaillant, Millet, Lamber-ville, Carheil and Garnier felicitously directed the Iroquois mission of the Mohawks, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga and the Seneca, besides those of the Hurons and the Ottawa, the Illinois, those at the Sault Ste. Marie, the Miami, the Abénaquis and the Acadia.

They had two missions near Montreal: one of the Sault begun by Father Fremin at the inauguration of M. le Comte de Frontenac's

²⁴ On this dispute between Governor Perrot of Montreal and Frontenac see Jean Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Institute of Jesuit History, Chicago, 1939, 210.

regime as Governor in 1672, and another to the Montague, opened in 1677.

The Governor of Orange was called Major Andros. Many *coureurs de bois* had shown to the Dutch the great profits which they could make by trading with the nations.

The Iroquois got for one beaver at Orange what the French sold them for ten in the woods, so they hated the French and loved the Dutch.

(1680) M. de Frontenac, wishing to prevent the French from going to trade with the nations far in the woods, for such was the order from the court, gave the Iroquois permission to attack those who did not have written authority. The Iroquois engaged in this activity with great license.

(1681) The Iroquois attacked the Illinois village when the men of the tribe were absent. They seized a thousand women and children and old people. M. de Tonty was wounded there.²⁵

(1682) The Iroquois were proud of their victory over the Illinois. The English from Virginia detesting the French because of their high prices, urged on by the Dutch, shipped whole canoe loads of free goods both to the north and to the south of Lake Ontario to attract the natives to them.

A few individuals had been irritated by individual quarrels, such as Chaudière Noire [Black Kettle] who had been harshly treated by M. Perrot to whom he had brought four Ottawa. Horschouasse had injured Father Carheil. Honnonsache had been killed by an Illinois at Macinac. By all of these things, I say, the Iroquois sought occasion for breaking off relations with the French. They talked of nothing else at their feasts, dances or bathings except how to make trouble for the Governor. And, to come to the point, they began in this year at Tcheyagon by pillaging three Frenchmen: Le Duc, Abraham and Lachapelle. Next, while the barque bound for Frontenac was anchored in the Niagara River under command of Sieur Lamarque, the Seneca boarded it, tied up the pilot, and, overpowering the French, plundered 1,300 lbs. of merchandise. A short time later, Chaudière Noire with his followers forced those at Fort Frontenac to give him a great quantity of goods. Teganissorens came here to make some sort of excuse to M. le Comte. Because of such incidents, M. le Comte was recalled. His successor was M. le Fèvre de la Barre, first Intendent at Auvergne, a ship

²⁵ Henri Tonti, whose account may be read in Louise P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 291.

captain, who had done combat as a commander in the Islands. He called himself M. le General.

M. le General began his regime by sending three of his guards decked in their helmets to tell the Iroquois to come to see him for a council in the spring at Montréal.

Then he send a man named Salvage to the Dutch to warn them not to sell arms to assist the Iroquois.

However, (1683) the Dutch went to the Ottawa and traded with them through four French fugitives to debauch them. And one [of the Dutch] named Arrathi, a brother of Aria, went by Frontenac, descended the rapids, coming to reconnoitre Montreal, gave a collar to the Savages at the Sault and returned by way of Lake Champlain with a canoe of pelts.²⁶

As for the Iroquois, they had resolved not to attend [the council]. But they sent M. Lemoine with Ondotionnens, captain of the Montagne, who having run the risk of being killed by the treacherously inclined among the Seneca, took refuge with Father Garnier. Finally they persuaded the elders among the Seneca to come and join those of the four nations who were assembling at Montreal for a general council, where also were [gathered] the Hurons, Ottawa, Algonquins and the representatives of the three missions from down here, gathered together in the large church which was not yet blessed.

The first discourse concerned the death of Hannonsache.²⁷ The tears of death were wiped away by eight white hats and as many shirts. These were for the Ayandés [Elders]. There were four guns for the warriors. They dug a hole to bury this discourse and covered it with four coats decorated with gold braid. There was one coat for each cabin. The river was made to pass over it by a collar. The hatchet was taken from them by a second collar. It was thrown into the lake by a third [collar].

The second discourse: The power to pillage the French who were trading without permission was removed by a fifth collar.

The third discourse: [The Governor promised] that he would punish M. de la Salle for arming the Illinois.

²⁶ Aria was the Indian name applied to Arent Viele, Dutch interpreter for Governor Dongan of New York; see R. G. Thwaites, ed., *New Voyages to North America by the Baron de Lahontan*, Chicago, 1905, I, 157. However, there was also a chief who bore this name, according to J. R. Broadhead, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1855, V, 493.

²⁷ For a complete account of the import of the death of this Indian, see P. F.-X. Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, New York, 1868, III, 218.

The fourth discourse: He recognized as his children, the Hurons, Ottawa and Algonquins by five collars.

The fifth discourse: He asked them what cause they had for attacking the Illinois and the Miami.

The sixth discourse: Father Bruyas presented the collar of faith.

The seventh discourse: The Mohawks, composing only one tribe, gave one collar. Then the Algonquins and the Hurons gave a collar [to confirm] the words of the Governor. These presents got up more than two thousand *écus*.

Teganissorens, orator, chief and interpreter of the Iroquois, replied to all these collars by as many in turn. As to the question of the Illinois, he declared proudly. "He deserved to die; he killed me." No one dared to answer.

M. le General sent 16,000 livres of goods for trade.

(In November 1683) The ships brought us three companies of marines. MM. D'Hosta, Chevalier, and Aubry were the captains.

Monseigneur de Lavel went to France.

M. Perrot became angry with the aforementioned captains, making some mistakes which caused him to be punished.

(In December 1694) The [house] of the Sisters of the Congregation was burned while two of the nuns were in it.

Teganissorens came down from the Seneca to Montreal, visiting all the shores [i.e. the tribes]. Meanwhile Father Potier, coming from the Ottawa, brought news that the Iroquois had seized M. de la Barre's 16,000 livres [of trade goods]. Besides, they had besieged Fort Contrecoeur where the Chevalier de Baugy was [established]. This greatly incensed M. de la Barre and all the interested merchants. On the heels of this news Teganissorens arrived at Quebec. His presence disturbed the French who prepared for war hastily and without proper means. Eight hundred men were assembled from the frontiers. The people of Lorette joined, and when the news reached here all the Savages made ready for war. Teganissorens was arrested.

M. de la Barre appointed M. Perrot marshal of the camp. But when that officer put all the captains' drummers in prison, he was dismissed and M. de Ste. Hélène replaced him.

This war was caused chiefly by the avarice of the merchants who, during M. de la Barre's regime were at liberty to buy as many of the trading licenses as they wished. There were 150 canoes among the Ottawa this year. There were, also, plans for trading at Niagara, Toucharenton, and among the Illinois and [other] tribes. M. de la

Barre and the merchants wanted to persuade the Iroquois to let the commerce be unmolested until the pillage of the 16,000 livres of trade goods could be recouped.

In spite of this the army set out. The force numbered 1,200 of whom 350 were Savages. Their provisions ran out. Very embarrassed, M. le General was tardy in issuing marching orders. For the most part, he wanted to make peace.

The Reverend Fathers Lamberville and Milet brought three collars to Lake St. Francis which said that the warrior Seneca had the upper hand, and that the Onondaga wanted to make peace. M. Lemoine was sent. These collars were presented publicly at Frontenac. M. Lemoine left Frontenac after the middle of August. Four days later the French left for La Famine²⁸ where the bad air, rotting fish and, above all, the infection of camp refuse which was never cleared away, caused fever to break out in the army. Finally Oureouhati came to offer excuses and submission to the Governor for the Seneca who were absent. Thus he made vicarious satisfaction.

(1684) M. Demeules, the Intendent, returned. M. Champigny came. At the end of the war there arrived by ship M. de Callières, M. Hénault de Rivaux, Governor of Montreal, and three ship captains. In May they began the foundations for a new Seminary.

In the month of May, (1685) with the arrival of the ships we learned the news. First, of the appointment of M. l'Abbé de Saint Vallier as Bishop of Quebec, in spite of all his relatives who wanted to keep him [in France] as well as the whole court where he had a great reputation for sanctity. Secondly, M. de la Barre's recall was announced. His handling of the Iroquois had displeased M. de Seignelay who called the affair the disgraceful peace of M. de la Barre. Thirdly, it was known that M. le Marquis de Denonville, commandant of a camp of the King's Dragoons, had succeeded M. de la Barre bringing 600 men with orders to crush the Iroquois. Finally, the conversion and death of the King of England was made known.

L'Esperance was killed on December 15.

The regime of M. de Denonville lasted four years.

In the year 1686, he prepared for war and requested troops.

In the year 1687, he went to lead the troops against the Seneca.

In the year 1688, he made peace.

²⁸ Site at the mouth of the Salmon River in the present state of New York.

In the year 1689, he was defeated at Lachine and was recalled.

In the winter (1686) M. Denonville made presents to the Savages at the Sault and to the Montagne. They received 200 livres, their share in blankets.

In the month of February the Hurons were led on the hunt by the traitor, Astolack of Katogue or Saxina, where he held rendezvous with the Seneca who captured them, i.e. the Hurons, some willingly, some by force to the number of 120.

In the spring, seven Englishmen came to trade at Missilimakinac and collected 200 pelts. On the way home they were seized by the Miami. These same Miami were captured by the Iroquois who were attacking the Miami village in the absence of the men. The Iroquois captured 200 women and children. The Iroquois followed their customary, cruel practice of roasting the children and forcing the mothers to eat them. The mother of one little girl fought desperately. The Miami warriors, learning of this, reunited and returned, pursuing the Iroquois, killing 127 and rescuing some of the captives.

Meanwhile, Turcot, Roland and Grandmaison, French traders, were pillaged by the Iroquois. On another frontier three brothers, Ste. Hélène, d'Iberville and Maricour, with their cousin St. André, seized two ports on Hudson's Bay, Kichichouan and Prince Rupert, assisted by M. de Troyes, commandant of a detachment of the navy. They degraded the governor on an island.

M. de St. Vallier visited Acadia and then returned to France.

Ville-Marie was inclosed by a wall of palings. In the meantime, Dongan, Governor of Manhatte, a very evil man though a Catholic, persuaded by Du Plessis, Lafontaine and Marion, fugitive French, of the profits to be made at Missilimakinac sent a man named Grégoire²⁹ there with a large party of sixty men and 3,000 livres of goods to open trade. When they learned that M. Du Luth guarded the passage of Toncharontio which communicates from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, they passed by Taronte and guided by Lafontaine, Marion, Gaustassy and Tegannenstet, and came in sight of Missilimakina sixty in number about the month of May. M. de la Durantaye, a brave and prudent officer who was in command, judging that it was necessary to prevent a meeting of the Ottawa and the Dutch, set out ahead of them with his company. All the Savages rushed out making a large party in the woods within gunshot of the French.

²⁹ The English trader McGregor. Michilimackinac is spelled variously as indicated below.

Strangely, though all the Savages set out in favor of the Dutch because their cheapness, Gregoire believed that they had come to escort and support the French. M. de la Durantaye, without giving them time to declare themselves, being between the Savages and the Dutch, advanced with his company, their guns cocked. He forced the sixty Dutch to lay down their arms, bound them and gave their goods as plunder to the Savages and the French, thus gaining those who might have revolted.

Meanwhile, M. le Marquis de Denonville, who thought seriously of going to war, during the previous autumn sent presents to all the nations of the Ottawa, the Miami, the Illinois, and the Poux [Puans] with instructions to the three captains, Du Luth, captain of Toncharontio, Tonti, captain of the Illinois, and la Durantaye, captain of Missilimakina, as well as to all the leaders of the *cour-eurs de bois*, such as Nicholas Perrot, chief of the Poux, Micheloque, etc., to come to Ganientaragouet at the beginning of July.

Nothing was more carefully or more secretly handled than this matter. The preparation of supplies and the directions for the missions on the frontier were so guarded that neither Father Lamber-ville, who came from the Onondaga, nor the Savages had any suspicions. On the Governor petitioning troops, they sent him 1,500 recruits of the marine under command of M. de Vaudreuil, Marshal of a garrison of musketeers.

It is true that the King has wanted to send a detachment of veteran troops, but since those depended on M. de Louvois, such was the jealousy of M. de Seignelay that he preferred these poor militia recruits. Finally they arrived in time with a promise from the court to send others. They marched out on June 11. The army contained a representative from the four missions: 100 men from the Sault, sixty from the Montagne, forty from Lorette, sixty Abnaki, and 1,800 men, troops and militia, in four batallions, commanded by Dugué, Berthier, Verchères and Longueuil. M. de Callières³⁰ was the lieutenant-general.

M. the Intendent, de Champigny arrived first and, having called the Savages of Frontenac, an expedition was sent to all the Ganeyousse and those of Kente, whom he bound in chains within the fort to prevent them from opposing us in the campaign. There were about forty men and eighty women and children.

It was really a pity that the Savages who were, so to speak, un-

³⁰ Louis Hector, Chevalier de Callières, in charge of the government at Montreal in April, 1684, at the outbreak of the English-Iroquois war.

der our protection should be seized, pillaged and bound, captured by a trick of a [proffered] feast. And what is worst, first, at the end of the campaign these men were sent to the French Galleys, secondly, the greater part of the women died of sorrow and of illness which broke out in the dwellings. Horchouasse, Ouiongouen and Onnonouaragon and Onandaga who came to the city of Montreal when the army was setting out, were seized. The first of these was also sent to France. Finally, this whole plan [i.e. of seizing Indians to serve in the French galley] was so bitterly criticized that it was not continued. And if there was too much severity in the beginning, there was too great laxity at the end.

In any case, the flourishing army of troops brought so righteously about the first of May, the campaign begun so propitiously, the general abundance, all of these gave the highest hopes in the world. The army was met by a canoe coming from Toncharontio to announce that the three captains, Tonty, Du Luth and la Durantaye, were coming by Lake Erie, bringing the nations and the *coureurs de bois*. And besides, the last captain was bringing the sixty Dutch prisoners.

To profit by this fortunate juncture at the beginning, they left on the third of July, having sent three barques with supplies by way of Lake Ontario. These were to be anchored at Aténiatarontagüe. [Irondequoit Bay] We arrived there safely after seven days of marching. And by a happy coincidence which rarely comes to pass, as we arrived at ten in the evening the Indian allies with the three captains and six hundred men also marched into the camp.

Canada has never seen, and perhaps will never again see, such a spectacle. There were three ships anchored opposite the camp in which was a division of French regulars with their general staff. There was a division of the *habitants* in four batallions with the noblesse of the country, a division of Christian Savages, and lastly, a cohort of all the barbarian tribes, naked, armed with war clubs, painted with all sorts of figures, horns on their heads, tails hanging behind, and armed with arrows. One heard an infinity of languages in the night, chanting, dancing and all sorts of tongues. The Seneca came to spy on us and slunk off to burn their villages and flee.

An entrance was opened into the little lake of Aténiatarontagüe and a fort was built. The order to march came on the twelfth of July towards evening.

M. de Callières, the lieutenant-general, led the advance guard which was composed of 300 Christian Savages on the right flank

under command of M. de Ste. Hélène. The pagan Savages were on the left flank with three companies. One hundred Ottawa, thirty Poux, one hundred Illinois and fifty Hurons, under command of the interpreters, Nicholas Perrot, Micheloque and Penar with the *couveurs de bois* and volunteers in the middle, making eight or nine hundred men.

At some distance from the advance guard marched the corps of the four battallions of troops and four of the militia. M. le Marquis was at the head of the troops, and M. Dugué was leading the militia.

The advance was somewhat precipitate. The tired troops suffered from thirst for the day was very hot. The two groups became too far separated from one another. Also, the scouts were deceived, for, coming to Gaensera, they encountered five or six women wandering in the fields.³¹ This was a ruse employed by the Iroquois to lead the French to believe that they were all in the village. Actually, this was the reason for making the forced march, for M. le Marquis hoped to encircle the enemy before they fled. But this was the chief cause of all that followed, for the Mohawks of Garistatsi and Gannaganroquen fled by boat in the night. Passing to the Senaca, they announced our numbers and our objective, but above all that [our] Savages were wearing red war-bonnets.

First the [enemy] warriors took off their breech-clouts in order to be taken for Ottawa, who did not wear them. Then they made war-bonnets, which were so clever that we took those wearing them to the allies. Finally, the women and old people, laden with what goods they were able to carry, fled to Ouiongouen. All the [enemy] warriors to the number of 800 resolved to lay in ambush.

The territory of Gaensera is quite mountainous. The village is on a high hill which one mounts by three terraces. In the valley, made by the high hills opposite, there runs a rapidly flowing and well wooded stream which makes of the valley a marshy thicket. The enemy chose that location for an ambush, placing 300 men along

³¹ Francis Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, Boston, 1891, 156-157, indicates the site of the battle from O. H. Marshall's research and says the chief town of the Seneca was Gannagaro, on the top of Boughton's Hill. He draws heavily on this, Abbé Belmont's "excellent account" of the warfare described in the following paragraphs. Denonville's official account is translated in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IX, 357-369.

the banks in the rushes and 500 at the base of the hill, hidden by the foliage. The plan was that the first ambushade of 300 men should allow the French to pass through and thus expose their rear to fire. This would drive the French against the second ambushade, hidden in the marshes at the base of the two hills.

However, they were themselves deceived. Our advance guard under M. de Callières was so far separated from the corps commanded by M. le Marquis that the Savages thought the advance guard to be the whole army. Hence, when the advance guard passed the cover where they were hidden, they raised a terrible shout and fired a volley.

It is inevitably a disadvantage to be surprised and to fall into an ambushade. The Ottawa and pagan Savages all fled. They were on the left of the French advance guard, which was composed of the three companies of Du Luth, Durantaye and Tonti. That flank was thus left unprotected. The Christian Savages of the Montagne, the Sault and the Algonquis held and let off two charges.

M. le Marquis advanced with the corps of battle composed of the royal troops. His objective was the seizure of a little fort built of stakes which commanded the high hill. But in the confusion induced by the surprise, only M. de Valrenne distinguished himself. M. Dugué, in charge of the rear guard, rallied M. Berthier's fleeing corps, and ordered the division from Montreal to fire two hundred rounds. Mlle. Marquis, in his shirt-sleeves and a sword in his hand, ordered the batallions to fire and the drums to be beaten, but by then almost no one was left.

This so terrified the 300 Seneca in the ambushade that they fled towards the 500 warriors in the ambushade below. They so feared that a whole, vast army was upon them that they took flight precipitously, leaving their clothing in a heap. They were seen no more.

It was decided in council that because of the lateness of the hour it was wise to camp on the battle field to avoid further surprise attacks. Reaching the site of the ambushade, they found fourteen dead or dying Iroquois. They chopped off the heads of these and bore them off [as trophies]. One of the survivors said that the Iroquois band numbered 800, 300 above and 500 below. He also declared that the Ouiongouens were to come the next day. It was this information which decided the French to stay where they were. The next day they found more dead Savages and provisions and other survivors whom they killed.

On our side, Father Angelran [Enjalran], a famous missionary

to the Ottawa, was pierced through the thighs.³² Among the French, Nantura, Filliatro and some others were killed.

Of our Savages, the following were killed: Tegaretouan, Le Soleil of the Montagne, a brave Christian in every sense, Oyenratarihen, La Cendre Chaude, Sault, Gonhiagou, Le Ciel of the Hurons. Three wounded Savages were carried off the field of battle as well as many of the French, who suffered much, borne as they were on stretchers by four men who were frequently relieved.

The next day the army moved out in battle order, expecting an attack. They went down the hill to a little valley or gorge where there was a river bordered by a thicket. At the base of the hill the river flowed into a marsh or deep morass so densely covered with a stand of alders that it was almost impenetrable. It was there the enemy had laid their ambush and where we, perhaps, would have met defeat had not our advance guard been taken for our whole force and been fired on so quickly. M. le Marquis very prudently decided not to continue the campaign for it is a trick of the Iroquois to flee, hoping to draw one into a more disastrous position. Passing the marsh, (1688) which was about twenty arpents in extent, we came upon two or three hundred discarded blankets and as many guns. From there we were able to see the famous Babylon of the Senecas. It was a town or little village of bark huts, situated on the brow of an earthen mound which was approached by mounting three terraces. At a distance, the hill seemed to be completely covered with round towers. But there were only four great bins of bark set close to one another. They were about four feet high and about five feet in circumference. They were storage bins for Indian corn. The inhabitants put their village to the torch about a week ago. We found nothing undamaged in the village except the cemetery and the tombs. The only residents were snakes and animals, except a hideous mask with teeth and eyes of brass. There was a bear skin covering for the mask. It was before this object that they carried on their incantations in their cabins. In four different places there were large bins of grain which they had not been able to destroy. Besides this place, they had their Indian corn stored, to the depth of a man's knee, in a log fort placed on top of a little hill which was protected by its sheer sides. The Seneca had four large villages which they moved every ten years to keep near to

³² Jean Aljaran, mentioned in O'Callaghan, *Documents*, IX, 356, 383, 393; for an account of his dealings with Frontenac and Cadillac see Jean Delanglez, "Cadillac at Detroit," *MID-AMERICA*, n.s. XIX (July 1948), 164-167.

the forest and allow them to grow. The larger of these villages was called Gaensera and Tohaiton while the two smaller were named Onondaga and Onnenaba. Ganonketahoui, the principal chief, dwelt in this last named place. The French cut the grain in the fields. It was already fit to eat. They burned the old grain. It was estimated that 100,000 minots of old grain was burned and 150,000 minots of growing grain destroyed, besides pork and beans which they foraged. Sixty people died of battle wounds, but a larger number died of illness. Many of the Savage enemy fled beyond the mountains of the Onondaga, which separated that nation from Virginia, and went to live in the country of the Andastoez [Conestoga]. The slaves dispersed. From this time the Seneca, who had at most eight or nine hundred warriors and ten thousand people in all, were reduced by half.

After this, in spite of the Savages, who believed that we would continue on to Oueinguen, Onondaga and the other Iroquois, the French went to build a fort at Niagara. We arrived there after a three day march. This place is on a point of land formed by the meeting of Lake Ontario and the Niagara River, an eminence about sixty feet high. It is ten leagues from the famous Falls of Lake Erie, which is in this River and about ten leagues below here the River flows into Lake Ontario.

Henceforth, I will discuss neither descriptions of places nor of actions, but I shall limit myself to chronology.

M. de Troyes was left in charge. He was one who had been to Hudson's Bay with sixty men.

We crossed over Lake Ontario from south to north. Here the Lake is about four leagues wide. A light wind was blowing, which made waves as on the sea. Arriving, we beheld an agreeable spectacle. For a quarter of a league along the river every tree had a flayed roebuck hanging from its branches. M. de Troyes died of dysentery. Everyone in camp contracted the disease from the fresh pork and beans which they had eaten. After coasting past Tehiagon, Kente and Ganeyousse, near the River of the Tannahoute, the French reached Fort Frontenac in a storm, which obliged them to spend the night on a rock or little island. Aug. 15, 1687. Arriving at Fort Frontenac, we found M. le Marquis angry with us, and not without reason, for we had been followed by Iroquois. After four days of marching we reached Montreal.

(Aug. 20, 1687) Five hundred Iroquois came to Frontenac where M. d'Orvilliers was in command. Four hundred Iroquois

came down the river. Ten soldiers, under Captain Duclos, were lost in the woods at Frontenac. Eight men who had gone to harvest peas informed the fort. Three soldiers were captured with Mlle. d'Alonne who was forced to mount a stump, wearing Chaudière Noire's hat. Two soldiers were killed in a pine tree lookout.

(Sept. 24, 1687) The barque, loaded with provisions, left for Niagara with Father Lamberville aboard. The fort at Frontenac was besieged for a month. The one at Niagara was attacked by forty canoes, some of which they sank.

Of 400 Iroquois who came down the river, sixty took nine boats from la Galette, where the water was shallow. There were loaded with equipment and provisions for the soldiers. Duclos commanded the detachment. The Iroquois killed Vincent at the foot of the Island and Fournier on the Island.

Notable combat of l'Évêque, an ensign, who saved Amiconti. He drew a sword and killed the Savage who had him. He saved the captain of the barque and had his hat pierced.

On the fourth of October, 150 Mohawks besieged Chambly where M. Du Plessis was in command. They captured a soldier, his wife and child.

In December the Mohawks burned Verchères, killing eighty head of stock. L'Étang, an officer, relative of Verchères, was killed in the River Richelieu.

Grégoire, who had been taken at Michilimackinac by La Durantaye and brought by boat to Frontenac, after working there, came down to Montreal and was sent back [i.e. to his people]. He came as an ambassador with Onnaské, the Toad. Father Vaillant went to the Iroquois, assembled at Orange, to attempt to negotiate, but he was unable to accomplish anything and came back.

On the morning of February 16, news came from Frontenac that the Seneca had offered collars to Father Lamberville at Frontenac in order to make peace.

M. Ste. Hélène went to fetch Father Lamberville, suffering from scurvy, and to provision the fort at Frontenac. Twenty soldiers were sick there. M. de Villeneuve, the commandant, died as also did M. de Troyes. M. de la Durantaye died at Niagara from scurvy. So also did most of the garrison. This disease never fails to appear in garrisons which are nourished chiefly on salt meat when besieged. They are unable to get out and grow green vegetables.

(March 30) Father Vaillant came back with Mlle. d'Alonne and

Gastari, husband of Aratable of the Montagne. M. de Ste. Hélène, the captain, while conducting eighty French from Frontenac, was attacked at Tonihata. Four of his men were killed and one was taken prisoner.

Some Mohawks came to corrupt the mission at the Sault and to assure [the Savages there] that the French were lost. Thirty men and twenty women left the mission of the Sault.

After the departure of Father Vaillant, Dongan assembled the governors of Maryland, Boston, Virginia, Baltimore and Pennsylvania with the Iroquois to whom he gave bundles of cords with which to bind the French and to take vengeance on M. de la Durantaye for having captured the pillaged Grègoire at Michilimakinac.

On June 2, the Chevalier d'Eau brought news that a host of Savages, among them Chaudière Noire, Outréouhati, called Big Mouth, and Gagniegoton, were coming to offer peace. It was believed to be a trick. How often our belief in what we desire blinds us! Finally, they came and held council, or peace negotiations under the direction of Father Lamberville as plenipotentiary in the treaty.

(1688) First Article: To raze Niagara where there are 100 men dead and which is impossible to provision. Second: to bury the hatchet with the Ottawa. Third: to return 91 slaves which the Sault and Montagne owned.

This year, scurvy or other cantageous diseases caused the death of a hundred men at Niagara, the same number at Frontenac, a like number of Abnaki and 1,400 in Canada.

(July 5) The Abnaki among us, after contracting debts at Three Rivers, went off to live near Orange. They came to burn a Frenchman. On the sixth and ninth of the month, they burned Sorel, St. Louis and Boucherville. On the eighteenth, Larivé and Nicolas brought back thirteen prisoners, both French and Savage. M. de Callières went up to Frontenac with a thousand men.

On August 15, five of our Savages of the Montagne were attacked by the Onondaga at Orakonenton. Two were killed, of whom one was Haratsion, a fine young man who was much mourned.

The Abnaki in the colony attacked the English, taking ten Iroquois scalps, and six of the English.

The Rat, a Huron of Teonontate, took Tegannissorens in order to block the peace. Pionontio turned traitor and said: I have killed the peace. It was to his interest that the Governor not make peace lest the Iroquois fall upon him.

Monseigneur came from France.³³

(March 1689) Onnonchiagon came to spy on the Onnontouac. Three great chiefs came to decieve and abandon us. Ondechio, husband of Sagouenchon came and returned. Tiontoragué also came, treacherously promising peace.

On July 14, news reached us of the English revolution and of the war.

Jean-Baptiste Honnentarionni found Iroquois on the Island. They seized his shirt and bracelet saying that they would restore them to him if he persuaded the village to follow the Iroquois and that the French were lost. Honanderon said that this was true. Neither we nor anyone else wished to believe him.

Meanwhile Attérihata returned or fled from the village of the Onandaga, reporting that all had left. In effect, 1,400 Iroquois, of whom many were women in mens dress, had departed. The wife of Garatolan gave the alarm.

(June 1689) This caused M. le Marquis to order all to retire inside the forts. (July) He sent Father Lamberville and M. de Longeul as an embassy to the Iroquois to meet and placate them.

Finally, on August 24, in the middle of the night, the 1,400 Iroquois passed Lake St. Louis in the rain and a hail storm. Platoons were arranged to guard every house, along a distance of seven leagues, and then began a general massacre of men, women and houses.

There follows a list of names mostly illegible.

When the news of this startling massacre arrived, M. le Marquis dispatched M. de Vaudreuil with 300 men. On arriving at the Iroquois camp at the upper end of the Island, they found almost everyone drunk. It was an excellent opportunity to destroy five or six hundred of the enemy and to rescue the prisoners. But by a decision, the wisdom of which I will leave to others to judge, he [i.e. Vaudreuil] refused to permit a slaughter, declaring that he had orders to the contrary. Three of the Iroquois were captured in the fort called Présentation. They were beaten to death in the cave.

A surgeon, escaped from the Lake of the Iroquois, announced that Father Milet had been captured, attracted by the Iroquois who pretended to need him to hear the confession of a dying Christian.

M. le Comte brought the party to Fort Roland. The next day,

³³ Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix Chevrier de Saint Vallier, second Bishop of Quebec.

August 5, a large band descended from their camp at the upper end of the Island, posting themselves between Fort Roland and the church at Lachine. They stayed partly in the woods and partly in the field where the wheat was already high, passing on information by sentinels who were posted in trees.

L'Arabelle, a reformed captain, was ordered to take forty men to reinforce Vaudreuil. M. le Marquis stayed to guard the village where his wife and family were residing. L'Arabelle was joined by a band of Sault and Montagne. But the Iroquois, leaving the band of Savages unharmed, shot at the soldiers and laid low the greater part of them. They fell upon L'Arabelle, whom they captured with La Plante and Villedenné. Seven Savages from the Sault, seeing the French fleeing, wanted to reach the fortified church where M. Olier was holding out. But because they were old and weary they were all slaughtered at the foot of the mill. Lahaie's face was shattered by a sabre and he was killed.

After this complete victory, the unhappy band of prisoners suffered all the rage and vengeance which the most cruel Savages could invent. The victorious army took the prisoners beyond Lake St. Louis. In crossing it they shouted ninety times to indicate the number of prisoners or scalps they had taken. They called: "You deceived us, Ononchio; now we have tricked you." When they landed, they lighted fires and burned five of the French at the stake. They roasted six children, grilling them over the coals and eating them. They led others off to be slaughtered at Onandaga where they became victims of their vengeance. There the prisoners were obliged to walk many times over a road of burning coals.

Shortly afterwards the whole village of the Sault came to live in the town because the Savages were fearful. They brought their grain which was stored under the church.

Orders were sent to Frontenac for the garrison to abandon it. The bastions were blown up besides part of the walls. At the beginning of October M. de Frontenac came to take over the government.

(Oct. 16, 1689) M. Du Luth and Mante gave the best account of themselves in this war. Twenty-seven Seneca were discovered and encountered by as many French on the Lake of the Two Mountains. M. Du Luth placed his canoes in tandem so that the sun was shining into the eyes of the enemy. He ordered his men to stand the fire of the Savages. The enemy did not wound anyone. Then M. Du Luth ordered each canoe to attack crosswise from the

flank. This plan was executed so cleverly that the enemy tumbled into the lake. All were killed except two. The Algonquins burned one of these on the spot. The other was burned at the stake at Montagne by order of M. Denonville.

On November 13, the Iroquois executed another horrible massacre at Lachenaye on a day on which there was a light snow fall. During the night they slaughtered twenty French, spilling their members and viscera on the snow.

On the fifteenth, Pagnet, a merchant was killed at his home.

On the twenty-seventh, the store house of the Seminary was destroyed by fire. It was full of goods and provisions.

(Febr. 3, 1690) M. d'Iberville and Ste. Hélène with 120 French and as many Savages, came to Corlar. Finding the gates open they burned the fort, sparing the women and children and thirty Iroquois. d'Iberville took the lead. On March 30, twenty-five soldiers, leading the horses belonging to the Dutch were intercepted by the Iroquois whom they had so recently spared. Fourteen of them were captured.

On March 8, Gagniegon ton came with the collars.

On July 2, a party of Iroquois, coming down the River of the Prairies to Repentigny, effected another massacre. Twenty men were killed and thirty Iroquois. Pierre Milet was killed and his daughter was burned at the stake. Three of the Lajeunesse family suffered the same fate. Meunière's daughter was captured. Sergeant Dumoulin was killed. Lieutenants Daillot and Colomb were killed. Charles Pouliot also lost his life on the Island of Ste. Therese. Plancheau, Gervais, Baudry and Desroches were killed and Lamour captured.

Le Gemeraye and d'Hosta killed ten Iroquois and lost five men. Le Chevalier de Clarmont recovered five boys. MM. Ste. Hélène and Valrenne left to capture the Iroquois.

(Aug. 18) All the grain was destroyed and there was a famine.

There was a fight at St. Francis where twenty soldiers were killed, also thirty Iroquois.

Le Chevalier D'Eau was seized on his way to Onandaga. Colin, one of his canoe men, was burned and Bouviat killed.

News arrived that thirty-two ships were coming to beseige Quebec under command of William Phipps. M. Prevost, the major, prepared fortifications. M. de Callières brought a thousand men from his jurisdiction. M. le Comte de Frontenac mustered 3,000 men. He was summoned by trumpet to surrender with a promise of mercy if

he did so within an hour. His response was haughty, as it should have been. The English dropped down to Beauport. The war was fought after the manner of Savages, shirt-tails flying and constant harassing. The English retired with 100 men dead and 300 wounded. In their flight they abandoned their cannon in disorder. On re-embarking, they had to face the fire of MM. Trouvé, Joliette and Lalande. The great ships, raked with canon shot, sank with fifty men aboard. Their frozen bodies were recovered the following spring. The banner of the Blessed Virgin, flying from the steeple of Quebec, escaped damage from the cannon.

(May 2, 1691) The Mohawks took six Ganneyouse in the neighborhood of the mountains of Chamby. Then thirteen were seized by Onnonouagaren in order to acquire information.

On May 7, the Iroquois burned M. le Bert's mill at the River of the Prairies. Guillion's wife, Grégoire and his wife, Goulet, the farmer from Lachenaye, and a host of others defended a forty foot breach against 300 Iroquois. Verchères and a soldier were killed.

On May 17, seventy Iroquois, creeping up to Montagne at night in three groups fell on the Savages during the fourth hour of the night when all were sleeping. We lost Tondiharon. Thirty shots were fired, but the aim was too low. They lost seven men.

[A long List of Illegible Names Follows]

On June 17, M. de Bienville took command of a party to go in pursuit of the Iroquois. Having overtaken them, eighty were seized and brought back. They were not harmed. They bought powder and rifles.

(Aug. 10, 1691) Learning that the Dutch planned to attack La Prairie, M. de Callières went there. The inhabitants were camped on one side of the fort and the soldiers on the other. In all they numbered about 1,200. Debauchery there was extreme. Meanwhile, before daybreak, eighty Mohegans slipped up a ditch behind the mill, killed the sleeping sentry, scalped six Ottawa and killed twenty inhabitants. When the captains at the fort came running to the battle, three were killed at the gate by an ambush especially stationed to slaughter them. The dead captains were, St. Criq, Hosta and Cairac. L'Évitier and Domergus were despatched. The latter was killed with a dozen men and three prisoners.

The Dutch, under Peter Schuyler, not daring to engage so many opponents, returned, as though victorious, without assaulting the

fort. But Valrennes and Demuy, sent out purposely to discover the Dutch before their arrival, announced their presence. Each took to an ambush. The Mohawks with Peter Schuyler were discovered in their ambush. They had to bear the brunt of the fire both from the Hurons and Valrenne's soldiers as well as from the Dutch. The enemy had 101 men killed. In spite of their losses they broke through our ambush. Our Savage allies fled, but M. Guay rallied them and led them back. The enemy gave up. We missed an opportunity by not pursuing them.

On October 12, M. de Vaudreuil set out in command of a party. M. Guay went along. But Sorel was relieved.

Seventeen men and their women were attacked at the Sault by thirty Mohawks, back of St. Michel. Eight escaped. Two of the enemy were found dead. The enemy was pursued and given battle. Fifteen of them were killed. Gaxari and Garistatsi were taken prisoners and were slaughtered.

One hundred and twenty men of the Sault, forty of Montagne, twenty from Lorette and 100 French attacked Onneyouth's band. M. Guay led the Savages. Beaucourt, Auberville and Beaubassin commanded the French.

(February 1692) Tateguenondahi, chief of the Seneca, was surprised on an island in the River Keutsague at the foot of Lake St. Francis. There were sixty men, of whom twenty-four were killed and twenty made captive. Six Saultiers were killed and three chiefs of the Montagne. M. Guay went into the icy water up to his knees, sleeping in the snow. He was practically starving and suffering from an ulcer in his tooth and cheek.

In May, a week after the Feast of Corpus Christi, our people who had an escort four hours a day, were surprised by Iroquois lurking about Brulé Rapid. La Valterie was killed, Ononari was captured. Oganontara, though wounded, was saved. Ononari was later rescued by Barbouchi who killed seven Iroquois at Frontenac. Seven French were killed at the Brulé Rapid.

(Jan. 20, 1693) Six hundred men, five hundred French and a hundred Savages, led by M. Guay, attacked the three Onandagas villages and burned them. One hundred and fifty Mohawks were captured, but not tortured. The Iroquois, assembled at Onneyouth with the Dutch, pursued the French to the Lake of the Blessed Sacrament which our army was fortunately able to cross. The next day it froze; otherwise our people would have been at a great disadvantage.

The people of the Sault saw 100 of their relatives taken by the Dutch. Fifty of them, who escaped, nearly died from the cold.

Thirty-six French accompanied the Têtes de Boules, a tribe of the Long Sault, were attacked by sixty Iroquois. Fourteen French were captured. Of these, Artel and eight others were killed. Labuisière, a sergeant, and Lagorgendière saved themselves, crossing the Sault in a broken canoe.

Sagenouara, Vincent, Faucher and nine others were killed at Lachine. Three of the children of the Montagne were captured on the Isle Ste. Thérèse. Villedenné escaped. He had been taken with L'Arabelle five years before by Chaudière Noire who commanded sixty Iroquois. A party of 550 men was assembled under command of MM. Vaudreuil, Crisay and Mantet. They marched to the Ottawa River above the Sault. Despite the noise made by the party, the enemy did not see them since the sun was in their eyes. The French surprised them at a crossing. Chaudière Noire was just coming up as we began our attack. Forty were captured or killed, but the rest escaped. We lost La Potherie, Montesson, Labrosse, noblemen, the latter a great debauchee who had carried off *une* He wanted to truss up a Savage who had cut him on the face with a sword. He was a relative of M. de Champigny. Besides him, Joachim Lavallée was killed and also two Savages. The next day they went to search for enemy's stores. They went openly in canoes so as to be discovered. They fired a volley at us which killed Urbain and wounded another in the knee. A child was baptized by fire. Taréha gave back St. Amour who had been seized in 1690.

Orchouche with Oueingiens restored thirteen slaves, among whom were M. de Hertel and M. de Joncaire.

A party led by M. de Louvigny went to the Long Sault. M. Guay marched out for the third time. De Louvigny wanted to avoid going through the woods to Onderakontera. He came back with the Savages and made a raid in which eight were killed. His prisoners were burned at Montreal. Charleville was killed.

La Durantaye killed ten Iroquois at Boucherville.

M. le Comte went up to the Onondaga at the age of seventy-four and burned Onneyouth. M. Guay led the Savages to war for the fourth time. A jackass frightened the Iroquois when he brayed in the night.

(1697) Birth of Staouennah, named Sorel. Return of Father Milet, taken prisoner at Frontenac in 1689.

(1698) Chaudière Noire killed thirty French. The death of M. le Comte de Frontenac.

(1699) M. de Callières succeeded M. le Comte and made peace.

(1700) We lost six hundred people by death of capture. Many of those captured have returned.

The Iroquois have had as many losses, and all good men.

The Ottawa and other allies have lost as many. They have been diminished by half.

End.

Maximilian's Asiatic Colonization Scheme

Introduction

The attempts of various Mexican governments to foster colonization programs is an interesting as well as little known facet of Latin American history. Hard shell Confederates planned colonies in Mexico, Venezuela, and Brasil. Abraham Lincoln in the early years of the Civil War had a plan to settle the river bottom lands of Mexico's Isthmus of Tehuantepec with Negroes, and advertisements of Mexican colonization societies appeared in mid-nineteenth century San Francisco newspapers. The plan for Asiatic immigration, however, will be news to many historians.

A slim, twenty-four page pamphlet with orange covers—one item in the vast collection of Mexican pamphlets found in the Sutro Library, San Francisco—furnishes us with an appreciation of the ambitious plans current in Maximilian's Mexico.

The Emperor, acting to maintain the integrity of Mexico, refused to accept Dr. Gwin's plan for the settlement of northern Mexico with Confederate *gringos*, despite Napoleon III's support of the project. He was not averse, however, to the importation of Orientals to overcome the sparsity of population in the Empire.

The pamphlet, published in 1866 by J. M. Lara, contained, in addition to the laws of the colonization company, the decree of the Emperor and the contract awarded to the company for the importation of settlers. These two documents prove to be of interest and value in a study of the period when grandiose plans were being made, all to tumble in ruin on a June day in 1867 in Queretaro.

The pamphlet is entitled *Estatutos de la Compañía de Colonización Asiática*.

Through a most humiliating editorial error the name CHARLES DILLON is printed here instead of RICHARD H. DILLON to whom we offer profound apologies.—Ed.

Sutro Branch
California State Library

I

DECREE. MAXIMILIANO, EMPEROR OF MEXICO.

Considering the urgent need which exists in the Empire for workers to give impetus to all lines of endeavor which constitute the public wealth, heard our Council of Ministers, WE DECREE:

- Art. 1. There is conceded to D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis, for a term of ten years, the exclusive privilege of introduction of workers from Asia into the Empire.
- Art. 2. The Enterprise will bear the name "Company of Asiatic Colonization."
- Art. 3. Said Company will carry out its operations in complete accord with the bases stipulated in the contract annexed to this Decree.

Our Ministers of Public Works, of the Navy, and of the Treasury will attend to the fulfillment of the contract in the points with which each is concerned.

Given in Mexico City, on the 10th of December of 1865.

MAXIMILIAN

To the Minister of Public Works.

BY THE EMPEROR,

The Minister of Public Works,
Luis Robles Pezuela.

II

CONTRACT. Contract celebrated between the Minister of Public Works and D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis, for the formation of the "Company of Asiatic Colonization."

- Art. 1. The Government of His Imperial Majesty concedes to D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis, for a term of ten years, the exclusive privilege of introduction of workers from East Asia.
- Art. 2. The Company which D. Manuel B. da Cunha Reis forms will be allowed to bring to his haciendas in Veracruz, in the form of an experiment, five hundred Arabs from the Viceroyalty of Egypt, conducted by steamships. The Government of His Imperial Majesty will further permit the Enterprise, in the future, to introduce these colonists, if they prove useful to the country.

- Art. 3. The Enterprise will have the authority to constitute itself as a Society in Commendam, or Stock Company, formed by means of shares of stock. In the case that it should be impossible to obtain the necessary Capital with Mexican subscriptions, the concessionary will be allowed to gather it or complete it in a foreign country.
- Art. 4. The Company remains authorized to transfer, by conventional prices, the contracts of all the workers, to those who solicit them.
- Art. 5. The Company must carry, apart from the books necessary in any mercantile business, one of registry of effectives and casualties among the imported laborers, as well as the relation of the persons to whom the contracts are transferred.
- Art. 6. The surplus of provisions and habiliment, which the ships of the Company may have, will enter free of all duty, provided that they are not packaged.
- Art. 7. The ships of the Company will pay no port dues, nor lighthouse dues, but will pay those of pilotage.
- Art. 8. The Concessionary will not be allowed to introduce into the Empire anyone but men legally authorized to enter into contracts.
- Art. 9. The workers who substantiate it in order to go to Mexico, will solemnly obligate themselves before abandoning their native land, if they are adults of twenty-five years of age, to serve for the stipulated time of their contracts, in the occupations for which they were destined; whose time (which will be at least five years and cannot be more than ten, without prior renewal of the contract) will begin to be counted from the day of their disembarkation. But if they should be minors, they must obtain the competent authorization of their parents, grandparents, tutors, and in the ultimate case, of their Government.
- Art. 10. For whatever infraction of the preceding article, the Company will make satisfaction with a fine of one thousand pesos, being obliged in addition to restore to their native land the laborers who did not come according to the stipulation of the present contract.
- Art. 11. The Company will pay the Public Treasury the sum of thirty-two pesos for each worker who disembarks in the

country. If one or several of them should die during the thirty days after disembarkation, and before being transferred, the Government will refund that which it may have collected on the introduction of the deceased workers.

- Art. 12. The ships which the Company occupies will be well ventilated, being opened for that effect as many scuttles as may be necessary: The depth of the holds between decks must not fall below six feet.
- Art. 13. It is prohibited that the Company should bring the workers crowded together, the number of them that each transport may carry to be calculated at the rate of three men for five tons.
- Art. 14. The provisions will be wholesome and in quantity which will not fall below a pound of meat or fish per day, and another pound of rice; it being also necessary that each worker have vegetables at least once a week and tea at will during the entire voyage.
- Art. 15. As a principle of humanity, the Company binds itself solemnly and under its most rigid responsibility (which the Government will make effective in the manner that it judges most convenient) to put into practice for the conveyance of the workers, the elemental rules of hygiene: for this end each ship will have a physician to take care of this point and care for the sick.
- Art. 16. The captain will examine, before embarkation, and under his responsibility, the quality of the provisions and water, taking care that during the voyage the rations mentioned in Article 14 are measured out. If he does not verify this, he will remain subject to a fine of one thousand pesos, and the penalty which the law imposes.
- Art. 17. The Company is obliged to have enough provisions and water for six months aboard the vessels which come to the Gulf of Mexico, and for ninety days in those which are destined for the Pacific ports. The ships must also carry, besides the mess, provisions which can be distributed to the passengers at cost price.
- Art. 18. The Concessionary accepts and promises to fulfill each and every one of the clauses of the present contract, with the stipulated penalties in it.

Art. 19. The Government of His Majesty dispenses its high protection to the "Company of Asiatic Colonization" for all that concerning the privilege conceded by decree of the Emperor.

Art. 20. If within a year, counting from this date, the Company has not made the first introduction of workers, the privilege which is conceded to it will lapse.—Ministry of Public Works, Mexico, December 9, 1865.—The Minister of Public Works, Luis Robles Pezuela.—M. B. da Cunha Reis.

Copy. Mexico, December 13, 1865.—The Provisional Sub-Secretary of Public Works, Francisco Jiménez.

End.